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STUDIA AMSTELODAMENSIA AD EPIGRAPHICAM,
IUS ANTIQUUM ET PAPYROLOGICAM PERTINENTIA

MODERANTIBUS
J.A. ANKUM - H.W. PLEKET - P.J. SIJPESTEIJN

XXX

MICHAEL PEACHIN
ROMAN IMPERIAL TITULATURE AND CHRONOLOGY,
A.D. 235 - 284

MICHAEL PEACHIN
X

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CHRONOLOGY, A.D. 235 - 284

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Preface

Occupation with the history of the mid-third century A.D. might justifiably be called an exercise in frustration. Literary sources, those that exist, do not easily yield information, and the documentary sources are just as intractable. And while the bare bones of a narrative can be got from what we have, the process of holding this skeleton together with dates has caused much diversity of opinion in a plethora of studies. If ever more than a few specialists are to understand this period, then at the very least there must be some vague resemblance of consensus regarding basic chronology. Hence, what began as a more general study of imperial titulature from the time of Maximinus the Thracian to that of Diocletian gradually reduced itself to something much more limited in purview, albeit still obscenely vast.

As the title of this book indicates, not all aspects of the imperial titulature during the period under investigation are here considered. A catalogue lists the evidence, in so far as I have been able to gather it, for the emperors' titles, and earlier chapters deal with problems of sources and chronology. This alone has spawned far too many pages; thus, further questions have been relegated to a volume soon to follow. I have attempted to be both as complete and as careful as possible, yet I fear that errors, both of omission and commission, lurk. Even so, my hope is that the book will prove to be a reliable enough guide to further study of this period of history. Work on what here appears began some years ago, and has been influenced by many people. They will not go unmentioned.

It was J. Rufus Fears who first inspired me with the history of the ancient world, and he has been a teacher (better mentor) and inspiration ever since. A year spent in Bonn under the tutelage of Johannes Straub, along with the subsequent help and advice of that scholar, have also been a great influence. During six years at Columbia University, several people taught me a great deal, and were then patient enough to read this when I presented it as a dissertation: Roger Bagnall, Alan Cameron, William E. Metcalf, Morton Smith. Nor did the interest of these four in my work end with the submission of a dissertation. Each has been, and is still, important to my development as a scholar. In particular, however, Roger Bagnall and Morton Smith have taken keen interest in my work at every stage, and I owe them more than can here be expressed. K.A. Worp too was kind enough to read and discuss the dissertation at great length, and P.J. Sijpesteijn has helped at various stages of my work on titulature. Over the last few years at New York University my colleagues have provided a stimulating work atmosphere, and I am particularly indebted to Mervin Dilts for both collegiality and friendship. Most recently has come the influence of Géza Alföldy. His guidance during several periods of time spent in Heidelberg has been invaluable, while his

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continued interest in my work is most greatly appreciated. Indeed, were it not for his support and hospitality, I should certainly still be at work on this book. To my other friends in Heidelberg and New York go heartfelt thanks.

Time in Germany, during which much transpired with the present volume, was afforded me by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung. That organization continues to have faith in and to promote my work, for which many thanks are due. New York University has also been generous. A Scheuer Presidential Fellowship provided me with time and funds during the autumn of 1986, and now a New York University Research Challenge Fund Grant subvents the publication of this book.

I should also like to note that these pages were produced in camera-ready form with *Nota Bene* software, and thanks go to Jonathan Gumpert of Dragonfly Software for much technical assistance.

In the end, four people have made possible for me not only scholarship, but life as well. It is to them that what follows is dedicated.

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Victorinus.....	485-489
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations

Corpora/Journals*

ADE	L. Gasperini, <i>Aletrium I. I documenti epigrafici</i> (Alatri 1965)
AEGI	J.G. Milne, <i>Catalogue général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Greek Inscriptions</i> (Oxford 1905)
AEIGL	E. Breccia, <i>Catalogue général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie. Iscrizioni Greche e Latine</i> (Cairo 1911)
Allug	V. Hoffiller & B. Saria, <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft I, Noricum und Pannonia Superior</i> (Zagreb 1938)
AMNG II	F. Münzer & M.L. Strack, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Bd. II, Thrakien</i> (Berlin 1912)
AMNG III	H. Gaebler, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Bd. III.1, Makedonia und Paionia</i> (Berlin 1906)
AE	<i>L'année Epigraphique</i>
BMCRE VI	R.A.G. Carson (ed.), <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, VI</i> (London 1962)
Bureth	P. Bureth, <i>Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C.-284 p.C.)</i> (Brussels 1964)
CEMC	S. Panciera (ed.), <i>La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini</i> (Rome 1987)
CIB	C. Veny, <i>Corpus de las inscripciones baleáricas hasta la dominación árabe</i> (Rome 1965)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CILB	Z. Benzina ben Abdallah, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions latines paléennes du Musée du Bardo</i> (Rome 1986)
CIMRM	M.J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae, Vol. II</i> (The Hague 1960)
Cohen	H. Cohen, <i>Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain</i> ² (Paris 1880-92)
CPII	R. Hurtado de San Antonio, <i>Corpus provincial de inscripciones latinas (Cáceres)</i> (Cáceres 1977)

DLPI	H. Swoboda, J. Keil & F. Knoll, <i>Denkmäler aus Lykaonien Pamphylien und Isaurien</i> (Brünn 1935)
ELRA	G. Forni et al., <i>Epigrafi lapidarie romane di Assisi</i> (Electa 1987)
ELS	M. Buonocore, <i>L'epigrafia latina di Superaequum</i> (Castelvecchio Subequo 1985)
ELST	F. Beltrán Lloris, <i>Epigrafía latina de Saguntum y su Territorium</i> (Valencia 1980)
EN	B. Taracena Aguirre & L. Vázquez de Parga, <i>Excavaciones en Navarra</i> (Pamplona 1947)
ENAR	T. Mañanes Pérez, <i>Epigrafía y numismática de Astorga romana y su entorno</i> (Salamanca 1982)
EO	A. Vieira da Silva, <i>Epigrafía de Olisipo</i> (Lisbon 1944)
ERA	F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafía romana de Asturias</i> (Oviedo 1959)
ERL	F. Lara Peinado, <i>Epigrafía romana de Lerida</i> (Lerida 1973)
ERM	C. Letta & S. D'Amato, <i>Epigrafía della regione dei Marsi</i> (Milan 1975)
ERPS	A. Jimeno, <i>Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Soria</i> (Soria 1980)
ERR	U. Espinosa, <i>Epigrafía romana de la Rioja</i> (Logroño 1986)
ERZ	G. Fatás & M.A. Martín Bueno, <i>Epigrafía romana de Zaragoza y su Provincia</i> (Zaragoza 1977)
ES	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
ETERA	J. Carlos Elorza, <i>Ensayo topográfico de epigrafía romana Alavesa</i> (Vitoria 1967)
FC	R. Etienne, G. Fabre & M. Léveque, <i>Fouilles de Conimbriga II. Epigraphie et Sculpture</i> (Paris 1976)
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
FiE	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i>
FLEL	M. Abilio Rabanal Alonso, <i>Fuentes literarias y epigráficas de León en la Antigüedad</i> (León 1982)
GA	Jean-Louis Maier, <i>Genavae Augustae. Les inscriptions romaines de Genève</i> (Geneva 1983)
Gnecchi I-III	F. Gnecchi, <i>I Medaglioni Romani</i> 3 vols. (Milan 1912)
HAEpigr	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i>
HCC III	Anne S. Robertson, <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow, III: Perinax to Aemilian</i> (Oxford 1977)
HCC IV	Anne S. Robertson, <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow, IV: Valerian I to Allectus</i> (Oxford 1978)
HSE	F. Hild, <i>Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III. Das pannoniche Niederösterreich, Burgenland und Wien, 1902-1968</i> (diss. Vienna 1968)

*All abbreviations of journals not listed here are those of *L'année philologique*.

<i>Hunter</i>	G. MacDonald, <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow 1889-1905)
<i>IA</i>	J. Marcillet-Jaubert, <i>Les inscriptions d'Altava</i> (Aix-en-Provence 1968)
<i>IAL</i>	E. Espérandieu, <i>Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure</i> (Paris 1892)
<i>LALux</i>	Ch. M. Ternes, <i>Inscriptions antiques du Luxembourg</i> (Luxembourg 1965)
<i>IAM II</i>	M. Euzennat et al., <i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2. Inscriptions Latines</i> (Paris 1982)
<i>IAML</i>	A. Allmer & P. Dissard, <i>Musée de Lyon. Inscriptions antiques</i> (Lyon 1888-1893)
<i>IBR</i>	F. Vollmer, <i>Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae</i> (Munich 1915)
<i>IC</i>	G. Dagron & D. Feissel, <i>Inscriptions de Cilicie</i> (Paris 1987)
<i>ICorinth</i>	J.H. Kent, <i>Corinth. The Inscriptions, 1926-1950</i> (Princeton 1966)
<i>IDB</i>	F.K. Dörner, <i>Inscriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien</i> (Berlin 1941)
<i>IDR</i>	I.I. Russu et al., <i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> (Bucarest 1975 ff.)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGBulg</i>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae</i> (Serdica 1956-1966)
<i>IGIP</i>	G. Sacco, <i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Porto</i> (Rome 1984)
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>IK</i>	<i>Inscriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Rome 1968-1972)
<i>Inscript. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>
<i>ILAlg I</i>	S. Gsell, <i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, I</i> (Paris 1922)
<i>ILAlg II</i>	S. Gsell & H.-G. Pflaum, <i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, II</i> (Paris 1957)
<i>ILAT</i>	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin & L. Chatelain, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> (Paris 1923)
<i>ILBelg</i>	A. Deman & M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, <i>Les inscriptions latines de Belgique</i> (Brussels 1985)
<i>ILCV</i>	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> (Berlin 1927-31)
<i>ILER</i>	J. Vives, <i>Inscriptiones latinas de la España romana</i> (Barcelona 1971-72)
<i>ILG</i>	E. Espérandieu, <i>Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)</i> (Paris 1929)
<i>ILJug 1</i>	A. & J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana 1963)
<i>ILJug II</i>	A. & J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana 1978)
<i>ILM</i>	L. Chatelain, <i>Inscriptions latines du Maroc</i> (Paris 1942)
<i>ILMP</i>	L. Bivona, <i>Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo</i> (Palermo 1970)

<i>ILP</i>	M. Mello & G. Voza, <i>Le iscrizioni latine di Paestum</i> (Naples 1968)
<i>ILPG</i>	M. Pastor Muñoz & A. Mendoza Egurra, <i>Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada</i> (Granada 1987)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin 1892-1916)
<i>ILSard</i>	G. Sotgiu, <i>Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna</i> (Padova 1961)
<i>ILT</i>	A. Merlin, <i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</i> (Paris 1944)
<i>ILTG</i>	P. Wuilleumier, <i>Inscriptions latines des trois Gaules</i> (Paris 1963)
<i>IMM</i>	O. Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin 1900)
<i>IMS</i>	F. Papazoglou et al., <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> (Belgrade 1979 ff.)
<i>IMSM</i>	N. Gudea & V. Lucăcel, <i>Inscriptii și monumente sculpturale în muzeul de istorie și artă</i> (Zalău 1975)
<i>IP</i>	G. Cresci Marrone & G. Mennella, <i>Pisaurum I. Le iscrizioni della colonia (Pisa 1984)</i>
<i>IPS</i>	J. Češka & R. Hošek, <i>Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana Asservatae</i> (Brno 1967)
<i>IRA</i>	R. Lázaro Pérez, <i>Inscriptiones romanas de Almería</i> (Almería 1980)
<i>IRB</i>	D. Sebastian Mariner Bigorra, <i>Inscriptiones romanas de Barcelona I</i> (Barcelona 1973)
<i>IRCL</i>	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, <i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne, II. Lérida</i> (Paris 1988)
<i>IRCP</i>	José d'Encarnação, <i>Inscrições romanas do conventus Pacensis</i> (Coimbra 1984)
<i>IRG</i>	F. Bouza Brey, A. d'Ors et al., <i>Inscriptiones romanas de Galicia</i> (Santiago 1959-55)
<i>IRMN</i>	C. Castillo, J. Gomez-Pantoja & M. Dolores Mauleón, <i>Inscriptiones romanas del Museo de Navarra</i> (Pamplona 1981)
<i>IRPL</i>	F. Diego Santos, <i>Inscriptiones romanas de la provincia de León</i> (León 1986)
<i>IRR</i>	J.C. Elorza, M. L. Albertos & A. González, <i>Inscriptiones romanas en la Rioja</i> (Logroño 1980)
<i>IRT</i>	J.M. Reynolds & J.B. Ward Perkins, <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> (Rome 1952)
<i>IRV</i>	G. Pereira Menaut, <i>Inscriptiones romanas de Valentia</i> (Valencia 1979)
<i>ISM I</i>	D. Pippidi, <i>Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine, I</i> (Bucarest 1983)
<i>JR</i>	A. Ventura Conejero, <i>Jativa Romana</i> (Valencia 1972)
<i>JRC</i>	G.E. Bean & T.B. Mitford, <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-1968</i> (Vienna 1970)

KAK	A. Geissen & W. Weiser, <i>Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaiser Münzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln</i> (Opladen 1974-1983)
KBM	W. Weiser, <i>Katalog der Bithynischen Münzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln. Band 1, Nikaia</i> (Opladen 1983)
KK	A. Bernand, <i>De Kopros à Kosseir</i> (Leiden 1972)
KRS	P.S. Leber, <i>Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften</i> (Klagenfurt 1972)
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
MGSLK	<i>Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde</i>
Milet	J. Hülsen, <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen. Bd. I.5, Das Nymphaeum</i> (Berlin & Leipzig 1919)
MRSS	A. Mócsy & T. Szentlélek, <i>Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria</i> (Amsterdam 1971)
MS	M. Dunand, <i>Le musée de Soueïda</i> (Paris 1934)
NILM	W. Welkow, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions latines de Montana</i> (Warsaw 1955)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903 - 1905)
Oliverio	G. Oliverio, <i>La stele dei nuovi comandamenti e dei cereali. Iscrizioni di Cirene, (Gortina), El Gubbba, Ngarnes, Gasr Barbüres, Gsar Taurgüni, Tolméta</i> (Bergamo 1933)
OR	D. Tudor, <i>Oltenia Romana</i> (Bucharest 1968)
Pais	H. Pais, <i>Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa Italica, I. Galliae Cisalpinae</i> (Rome 1884)
PD	A. Bernand, <i>Pan du désert</i> (Leiden 1977)
PdD	A. Bernand, <i>Les portes du désert</i> (Paris 1984)
RECAM II	S. Mitchell, <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, II. The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia</i> . (Oxford 1982)
RGAI	A. Riese, <i>Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften</i> (Leipzig & Berlin 1914)
RIB	R.G. Collingwood & R.P. Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain. I, The Inscriptions on Stone</i> (Oxford 1965)
RIBW	F. Haug & G. Sixt, <i>Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs</i> ² (Stuttgart 1914)
RIC	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham et al., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1923 ff.)
RIS	E. Weber, <i>Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark</i> (Graz 1969)
RISC	P. Wright & E.J. Phillips, <i>Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in Carlisle Museum</i> ³ (Carlisle 1975)

RIT	G. Alföldi, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> (Berlin 1975)
RIU	L. Barkóczy, A. Mócsy et al., <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> (Amsterdam 1972 ff.)
RRM 1	D. French, <i>Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, Fasc. I: The Pilgrim's Road</i> (Oxford 1981)
RSK	B. & H. Galsterer, <i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> (Köln 1975)
RSO	H. Castritius, M. Clauss & L. Hefner, "Die römischen Steininschriften des Odenwaldes" in W. Wackerfuß (ed.), <i>Beiträge zur Erforschung des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften II. Festschrift für Hans H. Weber</i> (Breuberg-Neustadt 1977) 238-308
RSS	G. Walser, <i>Die römischen Straßen der Schweiz. I. Teil, Die Meilensteine</i> (Bern 1967)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGLI	E. Littmann, D. Magie & D.R. Stuart, <i>Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section A, Southern Syria</i> (Leiden 1921)
SK	G.E. Bean, <i>Side Kitabeleri. The Inscriptions of Side</i> (Ankara 1965)
SNGAul	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Von Aulock Collection</i>
SNGCop	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Copenhagen Collection</i>
SP	J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont & H. Grégoire, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Armenie</i> (Brussels 1910)
Syll. ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae minoris</i>
WRIS	G. Walser, <i>Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz für den Schulunterricht ausgewählt, photographiert und erklärt</i> (Bern 1979-80)

Books and Articles

Alföldi 1967	A. Alföldi, <i>Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus</i> (Darmstadt 1967)
Alföldy 1966	G. Alföldy, "Ein bellum Sarmaticum und ein ludus Sarmaticus in der Historia Augusta" <i>BHAC</i> 1964/65 (Bonn 1966) 21-34
Alföldy 1969	G. Alföldy, <i>Fasti Hispanienses</i> (Wiesbaden 1969)
Alföldy 1984a	G. Alföldy, "Su alcune epigrafi imperiali di Aquileia" <i>AAAd</i> 24 (1984) 241-58

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Alram 1989 M. Alram, *Die Münzprägung des Kaisers Maximinus I. Thrax (235/238)* (Vienna 1989)

Armstrong 1987 D. Armstrong, "Tribunician Dates of the Joint and Separate Reigns of Valerianus and Gallienus: a Plea for the August - September Theory" *ZPE* 67 (1987) 215-23

Bagnall et al. 1987 Roger S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, Seth R. Schwartz & K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987)

Baldus 1971 H.R. Baldus, *Uranius Antoninus. Münzprägung und Geschichte* (Bonn 1971)

Barbieri 1952 G. Barbieri, *L'alto senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193-285)* (Rome 1952)

Barbieri 1964 G. Barbieri, *Akte des IV. internationalen Kongress für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik* (Vienna 1964)

Barnes 1970 T.D. Barnes, "The Lost Kaiserchronik and the Latin Historical Tradition" *BHAC* 1968/69 (Bonn 1970) 13-43

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Introduction

By the early third century A.D. the titulature of the Roman emperors had achieved a standard basic format -- *Imperator Caesar* (name) *Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate* (iteration) *consul* (iteration) *pater patriae proconsul*.¹ The evolution of this formula had begun with the stabilization in 27 B.C. of Augustus' name as *Imperator Caesar divi filius Augustus*. Use of these names, or titles, varied throughout the first century A.D., but by the time of Trajan they reached a regularized form -- *Imperator Caesar* (name) *Augustus*.² *Pius* was voted for Antoninus by the senate, possibly during the fall of 138,³ and Commodus added *Felix* in 185. The combination *Pius Felix Augustus* was not, however,

¹ The development of this formula has been most thoroughly examined by Hammond 1957, and Hammond 1959, 58-127. See as well, König 1970, 67-72 for a brief sketch. Mastino 1981, 27-43, though he deals with a limited period, and though he does not deal with the development of this formula *per se*, is now also essential.

² There has been a good deal of debate as to when exactly these (esp. *Imperator* and *Caesar*) ceased to be names and became titles. As regards *Imperator*, see: A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (Munich 1937) esp. 255-60; D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire* (diss. University of Chicago 1920) esp. 28 ff.; Hammond 1957, 21-41; R. Syme, "Imperator Caesar. A Study in Nomenclature" *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-88; Hammond 1959, 59-63; L. Lesuisse, "La nomination de l'empereur et le titre d'imperator" *AC* 30 (1961) 415-28; D. Kienast, "Imperator" *ZRG* 78 (1961) 417-21; Parsi 1963, 56-68, 172-85; R. Combès, *Imperator. Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'imperator dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris 1966) 121-54; A. Degrassi, "I nomi dell'imperatore Augusto. Il praenomen *Imperatoris*" in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra V* (Milan 1971) 580-92; B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Titus* (New York and London 1984) 58, 80-1. On *Caesar*: Hammond 1957, 21-41; Hammond 1959, 59-63; Syme, *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-88; L. Lesuisse, "Le titre de Caesar et son évolution au cours de l'empire" *LEC* 29 (1961) 271-87; Parsi 1963, 52-68. *Augustus*, on the other hand, has attracted less attention; however, the plural has been of some interest: E. Meyer, "Augusti" *Chiron* 5 (1975) 393-402 (with his earlier articles on the subject), and B.E. Thomasson, "Zum Gebrauch von Augustorum, Augg. und Aug. als Bezeichnung der Samtherrschaft zweier Herrscher" *ZPE* 52 (1983) 125-35. On the Greek equivalent (i.e. *Αὐτοκράτωρ*, *Καῖσαρ*, *Βασιλεὺς*. Bemerkungen zu den griechischen Bezeichnungen der römischen Kaiser" in *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ M.P. Nilsson dedicatum* (Lund 1939) 529-39. See also Combès, *Imperator* 111-4. According to the categories established by Mastino 1981, 17 and *passim*, these would all be names. It seems to me, however, that indeed by the Flavian period these all had more the nature of titles than names. This is also the opinion of Lesuisse, Parsi, Combès and apparently Jones.

³ Hammond 1957, 45-7 and Hammond 1959, 62. Note also J. Rufus Fears, *Principes a diis electus. The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (Rome 1977), 253 n. 1.

adopted regularly until Caracalla did so.⁴ These then are the elements that comprise what I shall henceforth call the first half of the standard formula. The second half consists of the other titles mentioned above. These seem to have been fixed originally during the reign of Claudius, and to have remained thenceforth standard.⁵ Two other types of title also appear frequently and will here be of particular concern, though they were not part of this standard formula -- victory titles and acclamations as *imperator*.

Given the facts, then, that there existed both a basic official titulature and various other official elements that were not part of that regular formula, we are faced with the problem of how an emperor came to possess officially any or all of his titles. It is important to understand this process thoroughly, for only then can we begin to segregate official from non-official titulature. And this, in turn, is essential to any proper analysis of the chronology.

We might begin with the less regularly adopted elements of the titulature. Kneissl has argued a four-step process for the official conferment of victory titles.⁶

1. report of the emperor's victory to the senate
2. grant of the victory title by the senate
3. report of the senatorial decision to the emperor
4. acceptance or denial of the victory title by the emperor

Through the Severan period this must have been the proper system for granting such titles to an emperor, and only those thus conferred can have been official. For the mid-third century, we may assume that this or a similar procedure must have been followed, although we have no direct evidence to support the supposition. At the very least, senatorial approval must have been necessary to make a victory title official.⁷ Acclamations as *imperator*, on the other hand, were probably taken as a result of action by the military, and need not necessarily have involved senatorial sanction.⁸

⁴ Hammond 1957, 48-50 and Hammond 1959, 62. Further on *Pius Felix*, H. Erkell, *Augustus, Felicitas, Fortuna: lateinische Wortsstudien* (Göteborg 1952) 115-20. See also J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology" *ANRW* II.17.2 (Berlin 1981), 843-4 and Mastino 1981, 38-40.

⁵ Hammond 1959, esp. 63. Cf. also Mastino 1981, 40-3.

⁶ Kneissl 1969, 182.

⁷ See Kneissl 1969, 174-8 for a brief discussion of victory titles during the rest of the third century.

⁸ See below p. 53.

Hammond has examined most thoroughly the method of granting the elements of the standard formula during the first two centuries A.D., and he concludes that through the early third century the senate was responsible for conferring officially the titulature.⁹ Indeed, most emperors in this period seem to have been careful not to begin using any titles that the senate had not yet approved. By the early third century, however, this situation had begun to change. Succession to the purple was not so orderly as it had been under the Antonines, and emperors-elect began simply to adopt the standard titular formula (or parts thereof) on their own, leaving the senate to confirm at leisure. Still, there seems to have been a strong feeling that the senate had at least to ratify the adopted titulature. It is worth examining in some detail what can be known of the procedure for granting titles during the Severan period, in order to gain a notion of what might be expected in this regard during subsequent years.

We have one (probably) reliable source of information regarding the senate and its procedure at the beginning of the third century -- Cassius Dio. Fortunately, he was present when news arrived in the senate of Macrinus' elevation, and we have his report (78.16.2).¹⁰

ἐνέγραψεν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Καίσαρα θ' ἐκποτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεουρίου, προσθεῖς τῷ Μακρίνου ὄνοματι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὔγουστον καὶ ἀνθύπατον, οὐκ ἀναμένων τι, ὃς εἰκός ήν, παρ' ἡμῖν ψήφισμα.

So, according to Dio, Macrinus simply took (or was awarded by the troops) the titles *Imperator, Caesar, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul*,¹¹ and then wrote the senate informing them of this. He did not wait, as had been customary, for the senate to vote him these. If Dio's report is accurate, then Macrinus did not immediately assume the following: *pontifex*

⁹ Hammond 1957; Hammond 1959, 1 ff. (esp. 6) and 58 ff. Note also Talbert 1984, 354-5.

¹⁰ Herod. 5.1.2-8 also reports a letter from Macrinus to the senate. The epistle is almost certainly invented, and there is nothing regarding titulature in it. Cf. H. von Petrikovits, *RE* XVIII, 1 545 and Whittaker 1969/70, ad loc. Herodian then reports, however, that after having been read the letter, the senate voted Macrinus all the imperial honors (5.2.1). The *HA* also knows that Macrinus wrote to the senate. But in the letters as "transcribed" by the *HA* author, there is no mention of titulature. See *HA Opil.* 7.1 ff. and 11.2. See further below regarding this. On Dio as a source for senatorial proceedings, below p. 21.

¹¹ N.b., Boissévain has filled a lacuna here with ἀνθύπατον. He cites as a parallel passage Dio 79.2.2, where the discussion is of a similar letter sent to the senate, but by Elagabalus. Also below, pp. 5-6.

maximus, tribunicia potestate, (consul)¹² and pater patriae. Macrinus' coins, via their reverse legends, however, display precisely those elements of the titulature that Dio does not mention (the obverse legends are with uniformity, IMP C M OPEL SEV MACRINVS AVG).¹³

P M TR P
P M TR P P P
P M TR P COS P P
P M TR P II COS P P
P M TR P II COS II P P

The logical assumption is that Macrinus acted as Dio reports and that the senate, in accepting him as emperor, also voted Macrinus the full standard titulature, which is then attested by the coins. Dio's report, however, has been questioned, and precisely because of these coins.

Hammond interpreted the situation as follows.¹⁴

"...on the coinage of both emperors (Macrinus and Elagabalus) at Rome, the titles *p.m.* and *tr.p.* appear earlier than *p.p.* and *cos.* This priority suggests that the former two titles were assumed as part of the grant of imperial powers upon their proclamation by the legions and that *p.p.* and *cos.* were assumed only when the proclamation had been confirmed by the senate. If so, Dio or his epitomizer is in error in not including the supreme pontificate among the titles assumed before the senate recognized them."

That the consulate does not appear immediately might well be explained by hesitation to count Macrinus' previous *ornamenta consularia* as a true consulate before he had actually held the office.¹⁵ It is also possible that there was some reluctance to make the equestrian

¹² Macrinus first held the consulate in 218, though in 217 (before his acclamation by the troops) he held the *ornamenta consularia*. See Degrassi 1952, 61 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 70.

¹³ RIC IV.2.5 ff., BMCRE V ccxv ff. and 494 ff., HCC III 103 ff. Note that the original attribution of some of Macrinus' coins to the mint at Antioch can no longer be accepted. See, C. Clay, "The Roman Coinage of Macrinus and Diadumenian" NZ 93 (1979) 21-40.

¹⁴ Hammond 1959, 67 with 99-100 n. 54.

¹⁵ On the *ornamenta* see below p. 52.

upstart *pontifex maximus* or *pater patriae* immediately. But in all of this, we cannot forget the simple fact that the coins frequently give an abbreviated form of the official titulature, and that they cannot be pressed as evidence of the complete official formula.¹⁶ We might consider one other source in this context.

The *HA* reports that Macrinus, upon his acclamation by the troops, wrote the senate; but the letters produced by the *HA* author contain nothing regarding titulature (*Opil.* 5.9 ff.). We are later told that the senate voted the titles *pontifex maximus*, *Pius*, *proconsul*, the *tribunicia potestas* and *Felix* for Macrinus when they learned of events in the East (*Opil.* 7.2-5). The report continues with the notice (*Opil.* 11.2) that when the senate voted him *Pius Felix*, he accepted the latter but rejected the former. Obviously the *HA* author has not carefully followed Dio here, and it is clear that we should once again look first to the man who was actually present as events unfolded.¹⁷

As Dio says then, Macrinus took part of the standard official titulature at the moment of his acclamation by the troops. The new emperor subsequently informed the senate of this action by letter; and bowing to the inevitable, the *patres* ratified those titles already assumed. We may also reasonably assume, from the evidence of the coins, that those parts of the basic formula still lacking were added officially – whether immediately or gradually. Moreover, it is possible to explain Macrinus' actions as reported by Dio. At the moment of his acclamation he assumed the parts of the titulature that were inherent to the monarchy, indeed associated only with it, viz. the imperial names (or titles). He also took the proconsular imperium, which he needed in order legally to command his troops. However, since there was momentarily no practical need of the pontificate, the tribunician power or the epithet *pater patriae*, he could easily avoid offending the senate over these, and could wait for proper conferment of the titles. The consulate too would come in due time. Dio's account makes perfect sense.

Dio provides more evidence for the habit of writing the senate to inform them of the assumption of titulature. He reports the following concerning Elagabalus' accession (79.2.2-3).

καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολῇ τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γράμματι

¹⁶ On this, below pp. 10-4.

¹⁷ That the *HA* author had read and used Dio on these events is argued by F. Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta* (Bonn 1972) 118-35. Barucs 1978, 81-9 and 98-107 prefers Marius Maximus as the source. If the *HA* indeed here depends on Maximus, then we have the direct testimony of one senator (Dio) as opposed to the indirect of another (Maximus via the *HA*). Dio is still to be preferred. Note also Hammond 1957, 50 n. 194.

καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Καίσαρα, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου νιὸν καὶ τοῦ Σεουτῆρου ἔγγονον, εὐσεβῆ τε καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὔγουστον, καὶ ἀνθύπατον τὴν τε ἔξουσίου τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντα ἐκτὸν ἐνέγραψεν, προλαμβάνων αὐτὰ πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι...

Again, we see that an emperor simply assumes most of the basic titular format. Here the titles *pontifex maximus*, *consul* and *pater patriae* were not immediately taken, possibly in an attempt to avoid offending the senate.¹⁸ And once again, the coins demonstrate that Elagabalus indeed had, eventually, those titles not mentioned by Dio.¹⁹ We must once again assume that within a short time of his acclamation, Elagabalus possessed the full basic titular formula.

Other evidence also deserves mention in the present context. The *HA* asserts that Alexander Severus was the first to receive the full titulature by one block vote of the senate.

...Alexander...accepit imperium, cum ante Caesar a senatus[s] esset appellatus, mortuo scilicet Macrino, Augustumque nomen idem recepit addito eo, ut et patris patriae nomen et ius proconsulare et tribuniciam potestatem et ius quintae relationis deferente[s] sena[ū]tu uno die adsumeret (HA Alex. 1.2-5)

primus denique et omnium cuncta insignia et honorificentiae genera simul recepit... (HA Alex. 2.4)

et post adclamaciones Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus: 'gratias vobis, p.c., non nunc primum sed et de Caesareano nomine et de vita servata et Augusti nomine addito et de pontificatu maximo et de tribunicia potestate et proconsulari imperio, quae omnia novo exemplo uno die in me contulisis.' (HA Alex. 8.1)

It is not at all clear why the *HA* author should produce such an absurdity; nonetheless, the assertion that Alexander Severus was the first to receive the full titulature from the senate

¹⁸ Elagabalus held a suffect consulate in 218 shortly after his acclamation, but did not take an ordinary consulate until 219. See Degrassi 1952, 61 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 71. Note also Van't Dack 1982, 333.

¹⁹ See BMCRE V pp. 530 ff.

uno die is absurd.²⁰ The important point here is that the *HA* author expected that his reader would understand a block grant of the titulature as standard procedure during the third century.

The situation at the inception of our period, then, seems to have been this: a standard titular format had come into being, and the senate was responsible for the official grant of this titulature to the emperor. Both Macrinus and Elagabalus had been proclaimed by the troops rather than by their respective predecessors, thus foreshadowing the situation during the rest of the century. And both of these men took most of the standard titulature upon acclamation by the military. Moreover, they both informed the senate of this via letter,²¹ the *patres* could do little but acquiesce and then grant the full titulature to the new emperor. As Aurelius Victor would put it, referring to the acclamation of Maximinus Thrax, *patres, dum periculoso existimari inermes armato resistere, approbaverunt* (Caes. 25.2). The senate was in no place to dictate. Yet, precisely because it was the only font whatsoever of constitutionality, senatorial sanction must have been sought consistently. Whatever the reality of the situation, even specious legality must have seemed preferable to obvious or admitted anarchy. And so, just as the senators could not resist Maximinus' sword, he could not properly rule without their sanction. Hence, when we speak of official titulature, only those titles voted for an emperor by the senate come into question.

We have now a standard formula, which we can expect to have been conferred en bloc by the senate upon each new emperor.²² This will be the basic form of the official titulature, and can reasonably be assumed for each recent appointee. But how are we to recognize official titles other than those of this basic formula? In particular, how are we to know whether attested victory titles or *imperator* acclamations did or did not have official sanction? We are reduced to educated guessing, and here a comprehensive collection of

²⁰ Dio (53.18.4) plainly states that in his own day all of the titulature, excepting the censorship, was granted at once. See also Hammond 1959, 6, Talbert 1984, 355 and below n. 22. Also now the thorough discussion of, M. Angustias Villacampa Rubio, *El valor histórico de la Vita Alexandri Severi en los Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Zaragoza 1988) 41-52.

²¹ On this procedure note, Millar 1977, 352.

²² The consulate, if the new emperor had not held the office already, would be taken in the first January following his accession. See Bagnull et al. 1987, 23. It is also conceivable that the senate will sometimes have granted the titulature *seriatim*, rather than at one session; the pontificate (say) might at times have been granted later. Cf. Hammond 1959, 63-72. Also, if the emperor were in Rome, there may have been some hesitation at some times to vote him proconsular imperium (see below pp. 17-8). Any such delays are, however, almost always impossible accurately to detect during our period.

the available data becomes crucial. Moreover, we must understand thoroughly the relationship between titulature and the evidence that preserves it for us.

Chapter I, The Sources

Based on the documents collected in the catalogue below, it is possible to pose numerous questions regarding imperial titulature. In what follows, two predominate. The first is that of chronology: regnal dates, tribunician and consular iterations, the dates at which victory titles were granted and the sequence of acclamations as *imperator*. Secondly, I shall be concerned frequently with the problem of official versus non-official titles, particularly as regards the victory titles and *imperator* acclamations. All of this must be accomplished mainly on the basis of the available documentary evidence, though with some slight help from the literature. Hence, it is essential to understand thoroughly the limits of that evidence.

Three categories of document must be evaluated: coins, inscriptions, papyri. What types of error can each group be expected generally to make? Of these three types of document, is one type more reliable than another or the others? Are some of the coins, or some of the inscriptions more reliable than others?

It is also important to be clear about the notions "error" or "reliable." For example, the deletion of some part or parts of the titulature might seem to render a document erroneous or unreliable concerning the complete official titulature. We indeed frequently find the entire second half of an emperor's titulature missing, and we can also expect individual titles often to be deleted. Yet neither of these types of deviation from the complete titulature is precisely erroneous or particularly troublesome. Comparison of numerous documents and knowledge of the usual official formula will normally save us. On the other hand, we shall frequently find consulates, victory titles or acclamations as *imperator* given by only a few documents. This is problematic, for how are we to know whether these titles as attested were official, or whether they were the result of someone's creativity? The only possible method of resolving this dilemma is to compare sources. We must determine which documents are least likely to add non-official titles, and then compare all of these that are available. Only then can we even begin to be sure that a title was officially held.

It is also interesting here to pose another question: Who was responsible for creating each type of document? Instinct might lead us to suppose that documents produced by governmental officials ought to represent more accurately the official titulature. But by asking first just who composed the various documents that we shall be dealing with, and next just how each type of document usually reproduces the titulature, we shall more accurately be able to judge whether certain segments of Roman society, both within and outside the government, were indeed more careful than others regarding the titulature.

1. Coins

All of the coins, whether produced by an imperial or a local mint, must be considered official documents.¹ We know, however, precious little regarding the precise mechanisms of control exerted by the government over types and legends. On the basis of what is known, it is possible to talk of the mint at Rome, of the imperial mints in the provinces (Lugdunum, Antioch etc.), of the Alexandrian mint, and finally of the local mints, particularly in Asia Minor.

For the mint at Rome, and to some extent the imperial mints elsewhere, the question of control of types and legends must take into consideration Mommsen's theory of the dyarchy. His hypothesis states that the legend SC, found on the bronze but not the gold and silver coinage of the early Empire, indicates that the *aes* coinage was controlled or administered by the senate, while the gold and silver remained the province of the emperor.² The debate, as well as the bibliography, continues, and there appears to be no absolute solution in sight.³ But whichever side one takes in this controversy, there must be substantial agreement that the emperor could exert at will his *auctoritas* in order to have the types (or legends) that he preferred put on any of these coins. Indeed, a fair amount of literary evidence testifies to the emperor's concern for what appeared on the coins.⁴

¹ Cf. (e.g.) Sutherland 1987, vi, "The imperial coinage was, fundamentally, a government-controlled economic instrument which also said things, and usually illustrated them. This much is beyond question or denial."

² Th. Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (Berlin 1860) 742-7 and *idem, Römisches Staatsrecht*³ II,2 (Leipzig 1887) 1025-7.

³ The best interpretation seems to me that of, A.M. Burnett, "The Authority of Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire," *NC* 7.17 (1977) 37-63, and *idem, Coinage in the Roman World* (London 1987) 18-9. For other interpretations of the legend: K. Kraft, "S(enatus) C(onsulto)," *JNG* 12 (1962) 7-49; A. Bay, "The Letters SC on Augustan *Aes* Coinage," *JRS* 62 (1972) 111-22. D.W. Mac Dowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero* (New York 1979) esp. 70-3 argues that, "...the senatorial reference on the *aes* was one of courtesy alone, and not of specific right." This is similar to the opinion expressed by Sutherland 1987, 35-8. Note also Talbert 1984, 379-83.

⁴ Fears, *ANRW* II.17.2, 912 n. 395 adduces the following to show that emperors were directly involved in the selection of coin types: Suet. *Aug.* 94, *Ner.* 25; Lucian *Alex.* 58; Cass. Dio 44.4; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.15. To this list add: Herod. 2.15.4 (Septimius Severus gives permission for coins of Clodius Albinus to be struck); *HA Diad.* 2.6-7 (Macrinus has coins of his son Diadumenian struck at Antioch, but waits for senatorial approval before striking his own coins); Cass. Dio 79.4.7 (Elagabalus executes Valerius Paetus because Paetus had made χρυσοῦς γλύπτα ἔκτοντος -- this was thought to presage a revolt). For other instances of revolts being announced by coins: Herod. 1.9.7; *HA trig. tyr.* 26.2-6, 31.3; *HA quattuor. tyr.* 2.1. P.-H. Martin, *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus* (Mainz 1974) demonstrates that the pretenders of 68/69 directly employed the coinage for purposes of propaganda, and T.V. Buttrey, "Vespasian as Moneyer" *NC* 7.12 (1972) 89-109 makes a strong case for Vespasian having done much of the selection of his own coin types. See also: B.M. Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage," *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-16; C.H.V. Sutherland, "The Purpose

Let us accept the notion that the emperor could and often did exert personal influence over the product of the imperial mints. Otherwise, during the third century, we can only assume that the choice of types and legends might have been left to other officials, possibly the senate, or the *procurator monetarum*. It is worth noting, though, that the *aes* coinage, along with all evidence of the existence of *tres viri monetales*, ends in the third century.⁵ It would seem that any senatorial control over the coinage at Rome may have stopped at this time as well. And as regards the procurator of the mint, we simply have no evidence that he decided what was to appear on the coins.⁶

We know also relatively little concerning control of provincial coinages, whether of imperial or purely local mintage. During the early Empire local coinages operated in the West as well as the East, and in the West it appears that some effort was made by the central government to determine the product of the imperial mints.⁷ In particular, the Julio-Claudians seem to have controlled the western coinages at will.⁸ We know also, though, that provincial governors could order an issue of coins from a provincial imperial mint. Whether they also specified types or legends cannot be determined.⁹ By the mid-third century, however, the local mints in the West had been suppressed.¹⁰

Asia Minor, on the other hand, is particularly interesting in this sense, for there the local coinages persisted into the mid-third century; and Kraft's study of the system of coinage

of Roman Imperial Coin Types,* *RN* 25 (1983) 73-82; and, Campbell 1984, 36. Cf. also Sutherland 1987, 51-3, 55-8, 72-4 etc., and Burnett, *Coinage* (above n. 3) 24-5 and 66 ff.

⁵ The latest datable *tres viri* are from the reign of Alexander Severus, although it is possible that the office continued in existence until the time of (say) Gallienus. See J.R. Jones, "Mint Magistrates in the Early Roman Empire" *BICS* 17 (1970) 70-8.

⁶ See M. Peachin, "The *Procurator Monetarum*" *NC* 146 (1986) 103-5.

⁷ See: C.H.V. Sutherland, "Early Imperial Mints in the Western Provinces, the Direction of Coin Types" *NAC* 12 (1983) 151-7; J.-B. Giard, "Pouvoir central et libertés locales. Le monnayage en bronze de Claude avant 50 après J.C." *RN* 12 (1970) 33-43; Mac Dowall, *Western Coinages of Nero* 130-1. For the East: K. Kraft, *Das System der kaiserlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasiens* (Berlin 1972); Harl 1978, esp. 36-125; Harl 1987, 12-7.

⁸ C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Emperor and the Coinage: Julio-Claudian Studies* (London 1976) 96 ff.

⁹ Cf. Burnett, *NC* 7.17 (1977) 57-9 and Harl 1978, 52-64.

¹⁰ Cf. M. Grant, "The Decline and Fall of City-Coinage in Spain" *NC* 6.9 (1950) 93-106.

there has revealed a fascinating situation.¹¹ It now appears that central workshops produced all of the coinage for the cities in a given area. Furthermore, it seems that the workers in these centralized shops largely controlled the legends of the coins. It is not clear just how far the provincial or local governments interfered in the initial selection of (obverse) types and legends, but there seems no doubt that the moneymen at these common mints had a great deal of influence as regards the final product. Of special interest here is Kraft's conclusion that some of the central workshops coined consistently with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ while others used always ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ. This decision seems attributable to the officials at the mint itself.

Alexandria too is problematic. Milne suggested that the mint there was under the direction of the *idios logos*, though this now seems unlikely.¹² And while suggesting the *idios logos* as director of the mint, Milne also said the following regarding types: "On the whole, the impression produced by the list of the types used at Alexandria is that the mint officials, at any rate after the reign of Domitian, were not directed by any orders from the heads of the government; when they were not very busy, they devised fresh (type) designs, but in times of pressure they used the stock ones..."¹³ We simply cannot be sure who decided what was to be put on the coins in Alexandria.

The picture that emerges, then, is one of rather erratic control of the coinage. At Rome or in the imperial mints, the emperor could, and probably often did, exert his personal influence over the content of the coinage. He did so, however, at will, and we cannot expect that all emperors at all times decided what was to appear on these issues. Otherwise little can be known. The *procurator monetarum* at Rome, provincial governors, or officials at the various mints may have been responsible for the makeup of these coinages in the absence of an imperial mandate. Issues of local mints in the Balkan area, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine generally exhibit more autonomy, as do the Alexandrian coins. These coinages appear to have been largely designed locally.

¹¹ Kraft, *System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung*. It should be noted, however, that there has been criticism of Kraft's theories: A. Johnston, "Review Article. New Problems for Old: Konrad Kraft on Die-sharing in Asia Minor" *NC* 7.14 (1974) 203-7. It will probably be some time before the problems of the coinage of Asia Minor during the Empire are truly settled, but I think that Kraft's analysis must, for the time being, stand. Note also Harl 1987, 16-7.

¹² Milne 1933, xviii. The most recent study of the *idios logos* portrays the office as being involved chiefly with land and property administration. There is no mention whatever of coinage. See P.R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (Toronto 1970).

¹³ Milne 1933, xl.

Having come so far, we are nonetheless short of our destination. We have some idea as to who may have determined the titulature that appeared on coins, but we must now see what, if anything, this implies. Let us first consider the question of official versus non-official titulature. It might seem reasonable to assume that the mints most clearly controlled by the central government (Rome especially, and the imperial mints in the provinces) would best represent official policy regarding the titulature. One thing is certain -- drastic abbreviation is to be expected. The seven different combinations of titulature on Maximinus Thrax' Roman issues demonstrate this sufficiently.

1. MAX PI AVG GERM
2. IMP MAX PI AVG
3. IMP MAX PI AVG PONT MAX TR POT P P
4. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT II COS P II
5. IMP MAX PI AVG PONT MAX TR POT II COS P P
6. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT III COS P P
7. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT III COS P P

A number of Maximinus' titles simply do not appear: *Caesar*, *Felix*, *proconsul*, *Sarmaticus maximus*, *Dacicus maximus*. We can reasonably assume a priori that *Caesar*, *Felix* and *proconsul* were officially part of Maximinus' titulature. And although two of his victory titles do not appear on the coins from Rome, they appear widely in the other documents, and in particular on military diplomas and in the papyri. Thus, all of these titles must also have been official, even though the Roman coins neglect them. It should also be noted that the titles that do appear on the Roman issues come in varied combinations. Clearly, even at Rome it was not terribly important to be absolutely exact as regards an emperor's official titulature. The same holds for all other mints the Empire over.

That a title is lacking entirely on the coinage, then, does not alone indicate that it was not officially held. But must we fear that titles not officially held will appear on coins of Rome, or on those of imperial mints in the provinces? Until the reign of Valerian this seems to pose no great problem, but afterwards becomes most troublesome. By way of exemplum, let us consider Valerian.

A number of his coins from Rome label him *restitutor orbis*,¹⁴ though no other mint graces him with this epithet. On the other hand, at Viminacium he appears as *restitutor*

¹⁴ Cat. nos. 7, 16, 21.

generis humani,¹⁵ and at Antioch as *restitutor orientis*.¹⁶ It seems most unlikely that Valerian had any of these titles officially, that is by vote of the senate. Rather, we must wonder whether some official (or officials) at each mint in question might not have made the decision to bestow an idiosyncratic title upon him.¹⁷ As this exemplum demonstrates, even the mint at Rome cannot be trusted to apply only officially held titulature to an emperor. In order to weed official from non-official we must go further than the coins.

Chronology is likewise troublesome. The coins from Alexandria will often be useful, and we can expect that the year dates given there are to be trusted.¹⁸ On the other hand, tribunician and consular iterations provided by other coins, even those of Rome, are not always reliable. For example, the Roman coins of Gordian III attest him as both *tr. pot. IIII* and *tr. pot. VII*; no scheme of tribunician and consular iterations allows both.¹⁹ We are forced to admit that even at the mint in Rome, mistakes of chronology happened.

It is clear, then, that the coins alone can give us neither the official titulature, nor chronology with absolute reliability. In the first place we cannot be sure of the chain of command that led to the production of legends. Yet, even if we did know this, the coins themselves demonstrate a frequent disregard for exactitude. Even the coins from the mint at Rome often delete titles that were held officially, might add titles that were not granted by the senate, and can be expected at times to make errors in chronology. The coins must be controlled at every step by means of other available documentation.

2. Inscriptions

Several types of inscription record imperial titulature in this period: rescripts (*subscriptiones* and *epistulae*), military diplomas, milestones and various kinds of

¹⁵ Cat. no. 15.

¹⁶ Cat. nos. 17, 22 (?).

¹⁷ It might be argued that the Antioch coins reflect the recapture of the city in 254, on which: Kuhoff 1979, 12; Halfmann 1986, 236; Harl 1987, 109-12. They then might have been produced by order of Valerian himself. On the other hand, these coins could just as well reflect the enthusiasm of the Antiochenes. Note also Drinkwater 1987, 167 on the various Gallic issues with *restitutor* for Gallienus.

¹⁸ There is an odd situation (e.g.) under Trebonianus Gallus, but this exception serves to prove the rule. See below pp. 73-4.

¹⁹ See below pp. 60-1. Other examples of confused chronology on the coins will be discussed below.

dedication.²⁰ The first three can, without further ado, be considered official documents. Also to be called official are dedications of statues of emperors.²¹ Indeed, all dedications made by corporate bodies (e.g. cities, *collegia*, military units) should also be labeled official. Only those dedications set up by individuals for private purposes may be called properly non-official.

Rescripts -- In considering rescripts, we must divide our attention between two types of imperial correspondence.²² Private individuals might petition the emperor in the written form of a *libellus*, which the emperor answered with a *subscription*. Important individuals and communities were more likely to contact the emperor via an *epistula*, which would be answered in like form. It has been suggested that the titulature proper to the former differed from that employed in *epistulae* -- *subscriptiones* contained only the first half of the official formula, whereas the full titulature was appropriate to letters.²³ We shall see that such a formalized distinction may not have pertained by the mid-third century.

The method of composition and then dispersal of the texts that we possess is also somewhat problematic.²⁴ *Subscriptiones*, particularly because of their brevity, may in some cases have been set to paper by the emperor himself.²⁵ In other cases, and the answer of the nine year old Gordian III to the people of Skaptopara would be an example, the *libellus* must have composed the answer. In either case, the titulature will have been set down within the confines of the imperial household. The *libellus*, with the emperor's *subscription*, was then posted publicly, and had to be copied by the petitioner in the presence of witnesses. This copy of the original document, then, served as the text on whose basis an inscription commemorating the imperial response might be cut. It seems doubtful that emperors themselves should generally have taken the time to write *epistulae*. Rather, it is more likely that in most cases, the emperor will have dictated an answer which was then put to paper in the office of the *ab epistulis*. This office will have been responsible for the titulature that appeared. The letter itself was then returned to the petitioner, and from this

²⁰ There are no inscribed edicts from this period. Cf. Millar 1977, 257. Note also Williams 1976, 237.

²¹ Alföldy 1984b, 52-5.

²² The distinction between imperial *subscriptiones* and *epistulae* was originally set out by Wilcken 1920, and is now generally accepted.

²³ Williams 1986, 192 and *passim*.

²⁴ On this see: Wilcken 1920, 11 ff.; Millar 1977, 206 ff.; Williams 1980.

²⁵ Millar 1977, 244-6 comes close to this opinion.

document a stone might be produced. It is clear that we must contend with the possibility of corruption in the process of transmission. Subscriptions will have been copied once at the time of their posting, and then again onto stone. Epistles might suffer mutation going from paper to stone. Still, it is probably safe to suppose that some care will usually have been exerted in copying such documents, and the inscriptions probably represent, with a fair degree of accuracy, the text as it came from court.

From the period here in question we have imperial titulature on three inscribed subscriptions.²⁶ The first is the famous rescript of Gordian III to the citizens of Skaptopara.²⁷ They (apparently) addressed him initially as, Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μ. Ἀντωνίος Γορδιανός Εὐσεβής Εύτυχης Σεβαστός (lines 8-9), which is mirrored by the titulature heading the reply, *Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus* (line 166).²⁸ We also have a rescript from Philip to a community of imperial tenants in Phrygia.²⁹ The titulature of the Latin subscription is, *Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix Augustus et Marcus Julius Philippus nobilissimus Caesar* (line 1), again repeated by the Greek text.³⁰ Finally there is a rescript from Valerian, Gallienus and Saloninus to the tenants of a sanctuary of Zeus at Baetocaec in Syria.³¹ The emperors are labeled, *Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Pius Felix Augustus et Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus et Licinius Cornelius Salonus Valerianus nobilissimus Caesar* (lines 1-8).³² It will be noted that all three of these omit the

²⁶ On these in detail, Williams 1986, 198-207.

²⁷ *IGBulg* 2236. The *a libellis* at this moment cannot be identified. He is Honoré's number 12 (Honoré 1981, 85-90).

²⁸ It is interesting to note that in the heading to the petition and rescript (lines 3-4), *dominus noster* is added to Gordian's titulature. This addition is probably to be attributed to Aurelius Pyrrus, who presented the petition on behalf of the village. See Williams 1986, 201.

²⁹ *CIL* III 14191. Although there has been debate as to whether this is a subscription or an epistle, the former has most recently been suggested -- Williams 1986, 204-5. Note that Wilcken 1920, 10 argued for an exceptional situation here, viz. an *epistula* answering a *libellus*. He could supply no explanation however.

³⁰ See the note in the catalogue below (no. 179) on the restoration of this stone. The *a libellis* at this moment is again unknown. See Honoré 1981, 90-3.

³¹ *IGLS* VII 4028.

³² Mention of Salonus and the presence of Valerian places the stone between ca. June/July 258 and ca. June 260. This, in turn, means that two unknowns are here in question as *a libellus* -- Honoré's nos. 14 and 15. See Honoré 1981, 93-6.

second half of the standard formula, which may have been the common practice in subscriptions.³³ Still, the fact that we have so few inscribed subscriptions makes it risky to assume from those preserved anything like standard practice.

The habits of *epistulae* with regard to titulature might be illustrated by two letters from the reign of Valerian. The first is a missive to Julius Apella in Smyrna, where the titulature is abbreviated as in the subscripts.³⁴

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούμβλος Λικίν/νιας Οὐαλεριανός Εύσεβής Εύτυχης / Σεβαστός καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πού/βλος Λικίνιος Γαλλιμηνός Εύτυχης Σε/βαστός [καὶ] Λικίνιος Καρυτίλος] ἐπι/φωέστατος Καίσαρ (CIL III 412/CIG 3182/IGRR IV 1404/JK 24,1 604)

Another letter, this to the people of Arycanda in Lycia, has a more, though apparently not entirely, complete titulature.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούμβλ(ιος) Λικ(ίνινιος)] / Οὐα[λεριανός] Εύσε[βης] Σεβαστός] / ἀρχ[ιερεὺς μέ]γιστος / δημα[ρχικῆς] ἔξουσίας τὸ [-ποι] / τὴν πατρίδος ἀνθύπ(ατος) καὶ [Και] / σαρ Πούμβλ(ιος) Λικ(ίνιος) Γαλλιηνός Εύσε[βης] / ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ(ιστος) Γερμανικός [δημαρχικῆς] ἔξου] / σίας τὸ ζ' ἔπατος τὸ γ' π(ατέρ) π(ατρίδος) ἀν[θύπ(ατος)] / Οὐαλεριανός ἐπιφανέστα[τος] (SEG 6 (1932) 759)

The imperial letters from the archive wall in Aphrodisias are also instructive.³⁵ In a letter of Gordian III from 239 we find the title *proconsul* lacking, whereas a document of 243 has the complete standard formula.³⁶ That the title does not appear in the first document is possibly to be explained by constitutional regard for the principle that an emperor's military powers were not to be exhibited in Rome.³⁷ However, a third letter, this to a

³³ Cf. (e.g.) Williams 1986, 182, 204, 206.

³⁴ See the note in the catalogue below (no. 429) on the restoration of this stone.

³⁵ Reynolds 1982, 33-7 and 131-43.

³⁶ Reynolds 1982, nos. 20 and 21 respectively.

³⁷ Reynolds 1982, 132.

private citizen, deletes the entire second half of the standard formula.³⁸ Are we to suppose that because a citizen was less important than a city, half of the official titulature in an *epistula* to an individual would normally be left out? Or is it valid simply to suppose that at any given moment, in any given document, such abbreviation of the titulature might occur? Finally, a letter of Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus exhibits perplexing titulature.³⁹ Decius there receives the complete standard formula except for one element -- the pontificate. And oddly, this office is attributed to Herennius. The document is simply odd and confusing.⁴⁰ What is clear from the examples cited though, is that even a document such as an *epistula* sent by the imperial chancellery is liable to present oddities of titulature, and must be employed with caution.

We can expect, then, that rescripts will abbreviate the titulature, and this possibly rather erratically. On the other hand, it seems safe to assume that they will not add titles that were not officially held by the emperor. At least no known document can be shown to do so. And finally, where chronological elements of the titulature are included, we should probably trust that these will be accurate unless absolutely forced to think the contrary.

Military diplomas -- The military diplomas that we now possess were copies of imperial constitutions granting privileges to soldiers. While the original texts were kept in Rome, the soldier could purchase a reproduction for personal use.⁴¹ These documents give the titulature roughly as do the rescripts. We can expect a diploma, for example, to abbreviate the full formula: *CIL XVI* 155, *Imperator Caesar P. Licinius Valerianus Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate II consul II et Imperator Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate II consul*. Here *proconsul* and *pater patriae*, both of which are expected and otherwise attested for these emperors, are missing for both. It also happens that the titulature on the interior and exterior faces of a single diploma may vary: *CIL XVI* 146, *Imperator Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus pontifex maximus tribunicia*

³⁸ Reynolds 1982, no. 22.

³⁹ Reynolds 1982, no. 25.

⁴⁰ On the problems of dating and titulature, Reynolds 1982, 141-2.

⁴¹ See F. Lammert, *RE* XV,2 (Stuttgart 1932) 1666-8. On the sale of diplomas to those wishing to purchase, M. Roxan, "The Distribution of Roman Military Diplomas," *ES* 12 (Bonn 1981) 276-8 and *ad eadem*, "Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140," in W. Eck and H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (Vicuna 1986) 266-71. Note that these documents could be issued to active as well as discharged soldiers: G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985* (Amsterdam 1987) 51-65.

potestate III consul pater patriae proconsul et C. Iulius Verus Maximus nobilissimus Caesar (*intus*), and *Imperator Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate III consul pater patriae proconsul et C. Iulius Verus Maximus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus nobilissimus Caesar* (*extrinsecus*). Even more troublesome is the realization that a military diploma may hopelessly confuse the chronological elements of an emperor's titulature, as is seemingly the case with *CIL XVI* 152.⁴² There is no reason to believe, however, that a military diploma might add titles not officially held by an emperor.

Milestones and Public Dedications -- Surely these too are to be considered official documents; yet here, the reliability of the titulature inscribed is considerably less. There is no need to discuss milestones in any detail, since their notorious lack of care in reproducing the imperial titulature has already been noticed.⁴³ Abbreviation and confused chronology abound. More importantly, however, we must recognize the fact that milestones may also grace an emperor with titles that he seems not to have held officially. Dedications fall into the same category.

This analysis of the inscriptional evidence is rather disheartening. The one type of inscription that might, as a category, be reliable *vis à vis* chronology -- rescripts -- is most rare in our period. Indeed, the rarity of inscribed rescripts may account for the seeming accuracy of these documents in this respect. Otherwise, no inscription can be trusted *prima facie* as reproducing accurately the chronological elements of the titulature. As for official titles, we can expect to find nothing but these in the rescripts and the diplomas; but, elements of the full titulature may at any moment be omitted. Almost any other inscription is suspect until proven reliable.

There is only one method, then, of using these documents with anything like accuracy. The inscriptions must be collected as completely as possible, and then each stone must be compared with others if it appears in any way inaccurate. Not only this, but the inscriptions as a whole must consistently be compared with the other sorts of documentation.

⁴² See below pp. 64 f.

⁴³ See, e.g.: Weber 1968-71, 121; G. Walser, "Bemerkungen zu den gallischen-germanischen Meilensteinen" *ZPE* 43 (1981) 390-1. Note also Kneissl 1969, 175 and 183 and Gostar 1975, 645.

3. Papyri

It would seem best to call the papyri, in general, official documents. They are mostly legal records of one sort or another which might have had to stand up in court, and they were in most cases composed by professional scribes.⁴⁴ As to the question of official titulature, they, like all of our documents, can be expected to abbreviate. On the whole, they do not add titles that were not officially held, although some victory titles, for example, seem to have crept mistakenly into some of these documents. A few local oddities appear as well.⁴⁵

It is for chronology that the papyri are particularly valuable. Indeed, these are probably our best sources for determining the length of emperors' reigns.⁴⁶ The first papyrus attesting any given prince must be recognized as an incontrovertible *terminus ante quem* for his *dies imperii*. It seems clear that the scribes were careful to wait for and abide by official news from Rome (or at least ultimately to date by the official *dies*).⁴⁷ And also, if the speed and regularity with which the news of new consuls reached Egypt is all indicative, then the report of a new emperor must have been generally not long in arriving.⁴⁸ The last papyrus of an emperor, used in combination with the first of his successor, will generally provide a reasonably accurate *terminus* for the change of emperors.

⁴⁴ Note also the treatment of these documents in Bagnall et al. 1987, 67-70.

⁴⁵ Cf. (e.g.) Max. cat. no. 213 (δικράτος), or Max. cat. nos. 224 ff. (δικαρπάτος).

⁴⁶ On the value of the papyri as a source for chronology: Van't Dack 1974, 882-4; idem 1975; A. Martin, "Domitien Germanicus et les documents grecs d'Egypte" *Historia* 36 (1987) 73-82. For a more skeptical view of the papyri in this regard, Drinkwater 1987, 97 ff.

⁴⁷ See below p. 26 n. 4.

⁴⁸ On the news of consuls, Bagnall et al. 1987, 29-32. One might suppose as well that the report of a new emperor was rather more urgent than the announcement of the new consuls of the year, and thus probably travelled even more rapidly to Egypt. Note, e.g., that Otho was recognized at Thebes less than a month after his accession on 15 January -- O. Monteveretti et G. Geraci, "Documenta papyracea incedita ad Neronis atque Othonis principatus pertinentia in papyris Mediolanensis reperta" in *Aktien des XIII. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Munich 1974) 300-1. The journey from Rome to Thebes is usually calculated to take 50 days (below p. 26 n. 5), and this under favorable conditions rather than in the middle of winter. See also Dupuis 1988, 104-5.

4. Literary Sources

It hardly need be repeated that the extant ancient literature treating the mid-third century is poor. In particular, our sources are not good with chronology. They may be used to supplement other documentation, but in the main are of little help. For the second question, viz. official titulature, Cassius Dio and Herodian come principally into question. But the chief problem of our sources for this period, whatever the type of inquiry, is that they are almost all derivative from earlier lost works. Thus, their value depends upon that of books which we no longer have, and can only with hazard interpret. I shall therefore here concentrate on those authors who provided originally the basis of the historical tradition, rather than on their successors who actually preserve for us that tradition.⁴⁹

Cassius Dio, a Bithynian Greek, rose to the highest levels of Roman government.⁵⁰ He had entered upon the *cursus* ca. 183, was *suffect consul* ca. 205/6, and *ordinarius* with Alexander Severus in 229. Dio seems to have been in Rome for the events of 193, and was probably in Rome during the joint reign of Caracalla and Geta, but then in Nicomedia with Caracalla during 214. By 215 he was back at Rome, and was in the senate when news of Macrinus' elevation arrived. He then spent some years away from Rome as *curator* of Pergamum and Smyrna, and seems not to have been present for the elevation of Alexander. Still, this means that Dio will have witnessed a number of imperial acclamations in the senate, will certainly have been familiar with senatorial procedure in this respect, and had access to senatorial records of such affairs.⁵¹ Hence, he merits trust when he describes the conferment of titles on emperors.

⁴⁹ There were other sources, now lost, for the early years of the century, which will not be discussed here. On (e.g.) Marius Maximus and 'Ignotus' Syme 1971, 30-53 and 113-34; Barnes 1978, 98-107; R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983) 30-45. Asinius Quadratus (*FGrHist* 97) may have dealt with the early third century (the Suda sv. Καρπάτος, says through Alexander Severus), but his fragments evidence his writing only as far as 166 -- Barnes 1978, 108 n. 3. On several other now lost contemporary historians, see Millar 1969, 15.

⁵⁰ The dates given here are those suggested by F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 5-27 and 204-7. For our purposes, the important question is when Dio was in Rome, and when not. In this respect, Millar's chronology coincides roughly with that most recently suggested by Barnes 1984, 241-5 (with other literature).

⁵¹ Note, however, W. Aepling, "Cassius Dio und Bithynien" *EA* 4 (1984) 131 on the fact that Dio (among others) was excused from attending meetings of the senate so as to pursue his literary interests. Nonetheless, when Dio says that he was present, there is no ground for disbelief.

There is not a great deal known of Herodian. It seems likely that he spent time in Rome during the late second and early third centuries.⁵² It is probable that he was an imperial slave or freedman.⁵³ He says (1.2.5) that he was a civil servant *ἐν βασιλικοῖς ἢ δημοσίαις ἔργοις*.⁵⁴ This being the case, it has been argued that, "...Herodian could have had access to senatorial documents, travelled in the provinces, experienced the life of the palace and shared the middle-class interests of the senatorial and equestrian families of the capital."⁵⁵ It hardly seems likely, though, that Herodian had access to senatorial documents. Indeed, it seems that he was totally unfamiliar with the interior of the Curia, if that is any indication of his knowledge of the senate and senatorial procedure.⁵⁶ As to the intimate details of imperial government then, Herodian will have had rudimentary knowledge at least, but nothing like the experience of Dio. His worth in this regard is then significantly less than that of Dio. As regards chronology, it has clearly been shown that Herodian was often imprecise.⁵⁷

P. Herennius Dexippus, the only contemporary historian of the mid-third century for whom we possess significant fragments, came from one of the best, albeit not senatorial, families of Athens.⁵⁸ His *Chronika* was carefully arranged chronologically,⁵⁹ and would have provided a good chronological sketch of the third century for anyone willing to copy

⁵² Whittaker 1969/70, I xxiii believes that Herodian was in Rome during 188-93. Kolb 1972, 25 ff. however, has argued that Herodian was never in Rome; rather, he had all of his references to the capital from Dio. Alföldy 1988, 241-2 and 266-9 argues persuasively, though, that Herodian did have first hand knowledge of Rome. It is not, however, possible to date his stays quite so precisely as does Whittaker.

⁵³ Alföldy 1988, 264-6.

⁵⁴ On this, Whittaker 1969/70, I xix ff. and Alföldy 1988, 263. Millar 1969, 15 n. 23 says, "So vague is his knowledge of events that it is tempting to suggest that the phrase...might refer to minor imperial and city offices in some province or provinces." This seems too skeptical.

⁵⁵ Whittaker 1969/70, I xxiv. Millar 1969, 15 thinks that Herodian, "...remained throughout far from the centre of events."

⁵⁶ Alföldy 1988, 267-8. Barnes 1978, 83 n. 14 remarks that there is no need to believe that Herodian wrote with senatorial patronage.

⁵⁷ Whittaker 1969/70, I xxix ff.

⁵⁸ Millar 1969, 19-21.

⁵⁹ Cf. Eunap. *FGrHist* 100, F1.

meticulously. Other than this, little can be said of the work.⁶⁰ From what remains of the *Skythika*,⁶¹ it would seem unlikely that much was there to interest the present topic. But whatever may have been included in either of Dexippus' relevant works, it seems unlikely that he would have had any reliable information on senatorial proceedings at Rome.⁶²

Finally there is Enmann's *Kaisergeschichte*. Little of consequence can be said of this source, which must now almost certainly be thought to have existed.⁶³ This brief history covered the period (probably) from Augustus to ca. 357.⁶⁴ Given this, the *KG* will have been dependent upon earlier sources, and we simply cannot say what those may have been.⁶⁵ Resultantly, we can determine little as to its reliability regarding chronology, and nothing as to what it may have reported regarding official titulature.

Various chronographic sources also give rather precise regnal dates. This is particularly the case with the *Chronograph of 354*. The *Chronograph* purports to give the exact duration of the reigns of most third century emperors, and indeed, it has been lent much credence by recent studies.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, I have seen no serious attempt to determine its real value as regards the dates that it supplies. Its value, of course, will depend ultimately upon its sources. But since the sources used by the chronographer elude us, once again so must its

⁶⁰ Cf. Millar 1969, 22-3. Also D.F. Buck, "A reconsideration of Dexippus' *Chronica*" *Latomus* 43 (1984) 596-7.

⁶¹ *FGrHist* 100, F6-7, F24-30.

⁶² As Millar 1969, 26 says, there is no reason to believe that Dexippus ever even went to Rome.

⁶³ Barnes 1978, 91-4; H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor. A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool 1984) 16-20.

⁶⁴ On dating the *KG* narrative down to 357: Bird 1973, 375-7; Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor* 16-7, though he here is less certain, arguing that a terminal date of 337 might also be a possibility. For this latter date: Barnes 1970, 15-20; Syme 1971, 222; Barnes 1978, 91-4.

⁶⁵ There is, with the exception of the *KG*, a veritable lacuna in our source tradition between the end of Dexippus' *Chronica* and the historians and epitomizers of the late fourth century. Still, there seems to have been a sort of common pool of information used by all. See: J. Schlumberger, *Die Epitome de Caesaribus* (Munich 1974) 172-82; Barnes 1978, 90-113; R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool 1981) 23-6; Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor* esp. 20-3. Also Millar 1969, 15 on the few other historians who covered various parts of the third century.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Schwartz 1977 or Chastagnol 1980.

true worth.⁶⁷ I think that this holds true also for the various other chronicles and authors who give exact regnal dates for the emperors of this period.⁶⁸

Finally, the law codes should be mentioned in this context. For titulature they are of no help, since they uniformly call emperors simply *Imperator Augustus*. There are, on the other hand, a few instances where imperial constitutions will be useful for dating. These will be discussed as they arise, and here it need only be noted that much care must be exercised with dates derived from laws.⁶⁹

It is thus clear that reports concerning the grant of titles in Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, the *Historia Augusta*, Zosimus etc. cannot be safely evaluated. Hence, the literary sources bring very little as regards official titulature during the period in question. We get a glimpse of procedure from Dio (see above pp. 3 ff.), but little else. It looks as though Dexippus, at least, will have provided relatively good chronological information. However, sifting the notices originally contained in his *Chronika* from those elsewhere preserved is most perplexing, and brings again little. In the end, almost all questions concerning titulature in the mid-third century must be answered on the basis of the documentary evidence. We may now begin asking.

⁶⁷ The only recent discussion (Mommsen in the *Chronica Minora* discussed the sources for the earlier period) of the possible sources seems to be the remark of Barnes 1970, 23-4, "Surely the writer (or a predecessor) has used some sort of collection of *mirabilia*. Enough evidence does not survive to render possible the identification of the Chronographer's sources. It is certain, however, that he did not use the *KG*."

⁶⁸ For some remarks on this type of literature, see now Bagnall et al. 1987, 47-57.

⁶⁹ Cf. Loriot 1975a, 722 and Honoré 1981, 88 n. 497.

Chapter II, Chronology

1. Regnal Dates

In order to establish properly the chronology of the various elements of the titulature, it is necessary first to set out clearly *termini* of individual reigns. It now seems clear that the Egyptian documents furnish the most accurate information in this regard, and their testimony has been compiled conveniently by Dominic Rathbone.¹ However, Rathbone is concerned with determining dates of recognition in the Arsinoite nome, not with the date of official recognition, *viz.* the *dies imperii*. Moreover, the very notion of official recognition raises chronological problems.

Blanche Parsi has demonstrated that by the third century, the creation of an emperor habitually went something like the following.² If the previous emperor had not designated a successor, some branch of the military would usually step in and make the selection. This does not mean that the senate was legally prohibited from selecting an emperor, but simply that under normal circumstances it no longer did so. And while investiture, that is official recognition of the newly designated prince, was still a responsibility of the senate, in the event of designation by the military it was apparently normal to choose the day of the military acclamation as the official *dies imperii*. If, on the other hand, designation was accomplished by an emperor, the day of senatorial investiture became the *dies*. But in either case it was a vote of the senate that made a man officially emperor, and that decided or validated ultimately his official *dies imperii*.³

In Egypt (at least), it would appear that under normal circumstances officials waited for an announcement from the senate before recognizing a new emperor, and that the official *dies imperii*, whether military or senatorial, was then calculated as the beginning date for

¹ Rathbone 1986. See also above p. 20 n. 46.

² Parsi 1963, 75 ff. Though she often presses the evidence (especially the *HA*) too hard, Parsi's overall picture of the system seems valid. Note also Campbell 1984, 374 ff.

³ Campbell 1984, 377 argues that only a *lex* passed by the people officially made a man emperor. This he bases on *Dig.* 1.4.1 and Gaius *Inst.* 1.5. Still, he concedes that the law will have been instigated by an initial *senatus consultum* and that therefore, "...it is in a sense true that the vote of the senate conferred legal recognition."

the reign.⁴ Hence, in most of the cases to be considered below, the following situation obtains. Egyptian documents for the most part, but supplemented by others where relevant, will best reveal rough *termini* for a given reign. We must then calculate the time necessary for: a) news of the (usually) military acclamation to reach Rome; b) a brief amount of time for the senate to meet and approve the new emperor; c) time for the news then to travel from Rome to Egypt.⁵ By working backwards from the date of recognition in Egypt then, it should be possible to calculate with rough accuracy the official *dies imperii*, though it is generally difficult or impossible to know whether the date of military acclamation or that of senatorial recognition was chosen.

What follows then, are the regnal dates (from official *dies imperii* to death) of the emperors here in question. I supply the dates that I consider to be most likely, the most recent (and most important) literature on the topic, and then a rough sketch of the evidence upon which the dates rest.

Maximinus Thrax, ca. mid-March 235 - ca. early June 238

Accession: Peachin 1985; Rathbone 1986, 108-9; Alram 1989, 25.

The earliest document attesting Maximinus as emperor is not from Egypt but from Rome, and records his co-optation into the *sodales Antoniniani* -- *CIL* VI 2001.12-6, dating to 25 March 235. It is impossible to know exactly how much time it would have taken for news of his proclamation to travel from Mainz to Rome. Nor can we be sure how much time elapsed between his recognition by the senate and his co-optation into the *sodales*. Still, it seems likely that all of this could have taken place during (roughly) March 235. We are

⁴ Rea 1972b, 17 argues that officials in Egypt dated from the official *dies imperii*. So too Van't Dack 1975, 133-4 and Gallazzi 1976, 246.

⁵ For travel time from Rome to Egypt I adopt the suggestions of Rathbone 1986, 102: 25 days to Alexandria; 30 days to Oxyrhynchus or the Arsinoite; 50 days to Thebes. See also Price 1973, 82 with: Gaul to Italy, 22-60 days; Illyricum to Rome, 35-82 days; Rome to Byzantium, 29-80 days; Italy to Africa, 31-63 days. Price calculates possibly too much time, particularly if a message were travelling with urgency. See the discussion of W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913) esp. 183-235. Further, J. Nichols, *Vespasian and the Parties Flavianae* (Wiesbaden 1978) 41-2. In all of this, the urgency of the message and the season must be kept in mind. Cf. Whittaker 1969/70, II p. 175 n. 3. There will also be, of course, cases where clearly the news (and resultant acceptance) of a new emperor did not percolate to Egypt via Rome. These cases will be considered individually. On travel time, see also above p. 20 n. 48.

probably not far off if we place senatorial investiture in about mid-March, and military acclamation late in February or early in March.

Death:⁶ Rea 1972a; Loriot 1974; Loriot 1975a, 688-724; Dietz 1980, 345-7; Sartre 1984; Rathbone 1986, 109-10.

The most reliable evidence for dating Maximinus' death and the recognition of the first two Gordians is probably *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107, which has been clarified by Rea. The papyrus is a cumulative list of taxes received at Oxyrhynchus and signed thrice (i.e. at each collection) by Aurelius Euseb(es ?); it shows that Maximinus was still recognized as emperor at Oxyrhynchus on 7 April 238. But the entry for 13 June shows Gordians I and II as emperors. By combining these dates with the account of Herodian, it is possible to suggest early June for the murder of Maximinus.

Maximus, *dies Caesaris*, ca. 7 January/26 April 236⁷

Loriot 1973; Alram 1989, 27-9.⁸

The *terminus post quem* is a military diploma (*AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77) dated to 7 January 236 and lacking Maximus. Note also *CJ* 2.3.13 (9 January 236) where he is likewise missing. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by *P. Reinack* 91, where Maximus is mentioned for the first time, and which apparently dates to 16 May 236. Since the papyrus is a letter from the prefect, I have calculated travel time to Alexandria. *P. Lond.* III 947 IV supports this *terminus*.⁹ And the evidence of the inscriptions seems to agree with that from Egypt.¹⁰

⁶ On the events and circumstances of 238 more broadly see: Kolb 1977; Loriot 1978; Dietz 1980, 5-24, 69-73, 315-40. The chronology of the spring and summer of 238 is most troublesome. I offer a solution to this complicated problem in a forthcoming article ("Once More A.D. 238," *Athenaeum*), which I follow here. However, the arguments of Loriot 1974 and Sartre 1984 for an earlier dating of the events should also be consulted.

⁷ Although a number of documents show Maximus as *Augustus*, it now seems clear that he was never raised to this rank. See, P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Imperator Caesar Maximus and Maximus Caesar" *ZPE* 68 (1987) 135-8.

⁸ Note also, W. den Boer, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Regierung von Maximinus Thrax" in G. Wirth (ed.), *Romanias Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit. Johannes Straub zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin & New York 1982) 352-4.

⁹ See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 213 n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. Stylop 1974, 520 n. 16.

Gordian I and Gordian II, ca. mid/late March - late April 238

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

P. Oxy. XLIII 3107 shows that the Gordians were recognized sometime between 7 April and 13 June in the Oxyrhynchite nome; hence ca. 8 March/14 May at Rome. By combining this evidence with the account of Herodian, it is possible to offer a rough guess as to the date of their recognition by the senate. Rea 1989, 105-6 now suggests that there may have been a brief period (ca. 25 April/13 June) when Gordian I was recognized as sole emperor in Egypt. This, though, is most hypothetical, and still would not change the overall chronology.

Death: See above, Maximinus, death.

P. Yale inv. 156 (Oxyrhynchus 7, 20 June) and *O. Leid.* 144.4-8 and *O. Bodl.* II 1621.1-4 (both Thebes, 21 July) show that the deaths of the Gordians and the acclamation of Pupienus and Balbinus must have come in Rome at the very latest between ca. 21 May and 1 June. We are also told that the Gordians reigned for 20 or 22 days.¹¹ Allowing some time for confusion and hesitation, we may suggest the date in late April.

Pupienus and Balbinus, ca. late April - early August 238

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

The earliest documents for these emperors are *O. Leid.* 144.4-8 and *O. Bodl.* II 1621.1-4. Both ostraca come from Thebes, and are dated to 21 July 238, which would mean that with fifty days travel time taken into account, their *dies imperii* must have been prior to 1 June. See also above on the death of the Gordians.

Death: See above, Maximinus, death.

The latest document for these two is *SB* I 5125.21-6, from the Arsinoite nome, and dated 8 September 238. Assuming then, that the news of their demise made its way immediately from Rome to Egypt, they must have met their ends approximately thirty days before the first week or two in September. The chronographic sources give two or three months for

¹¹ *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147 (20 days), *Zonar.* 12.17d (22 days). See also Loriot 1974, 299 n. 8.

their reign, which should correspond roughly to May, June and July.¹² See further below, Gordian III, accession.

Gordian III, *dies Caesaris*, ca. late April 238

It is clear from the literary sources that Gordian was forced upon Pupienus and Balbinus almost immediately following their accession, thus the date.¹³

Gordian III, early August 238 - late January/early February 244

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

The earliest papyrological date for Gordian as *Augustus* is *MPER* II p. 23, 21 September 238 (exact provenance unknown). Since the papyrus is dated year two, his official *dies imperii* must have preceded 29 August, though the exact *dies* is disputed. Although the Egyptian documents would suggest the date given here (Peachin, *Athenaeum*, forthcoming), earlier dates, based mainly on inscriptional evidence, have also been suggested: ca. 9 May (Sartre 1984); ca. 6/7 June (Loriot 1974).

Death: Loriot 1975a, 770-5; *idem* 1975b, 789 and 796; Rathbone 1986, 111-2.¹⁴

The latest date for Gordian as emperor is supplied by an inscription from Khardassy in Upper Egypt -- *SB* V 8487 (26 February 244). *CJ* 3.42.6 attests Philip by 14 March 244,¹⁵ and *PSI* XII 1238.20-1 (from middle Egypt) has him as emperor in Pharmouthi (27 March - 25 April) of that year. This evidence would indicate that the news of Gordian's death and

¹² *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, 99 days; *Cedrenus, Hist. Compend.* (Bona) p. 450, 2 months; *Chron. Pasch.* (Bona) p. 501, 100 days.

¹³ The best account is Herod. 7.10.5-9, with Whittaker 1969/70, II p. 232 n. 1. The *HA* author asserts that it was *populus et milites* who forced Gordian's election as *Caesar* -- *HA Maxim.* 20.1-2, *HA Gord.* 22.2-3, *HA Max Balb.* 3.3-5.

¹⁴ See also de Blois 1978/79, 12-4, MacDonald 1981 and Kettenhofen 1982, 31-6. Rea 1989, 105 now offers a tentative hypothesis that *P. Leid.* F 1948/3.4 attests Gordian at Oxyrhynchus on 25 April 244. This, as Rea says, is most questionable.

¹⁵ The reliability of the inscription of the law is, of course, questionable. Cf. Rathbone 1986, 112 n. 1. The date is not, though, questioned by (e.g.) Honoré 1981, 90-1 nn. 512, 520, 530.

Philip's acclamation by the troops must have reached Rome sometime in about late February 244. Taking into account travel time from Syria to Rome, we can reasonably place Gordian's death late in January or early in February.

Sabinianus, 240

Sabinianus revolted against Gordian in Carthage. Cf. *HA Gord.* 23.4 and *Zos.* 1.17.1. Paschoud 1971, 21 n. 41 supposes that he was proconsul of Africa.

Philipus Arabs, ca. late February/early March 244 - ca. September 249

Accession: See above, Gordian III, death.

Calculating on the basis of the *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, Loriot (1975b, 789 and 796) places Philip's *dies imperii* between 1 and 14 March 244.¹⁶ It is true that the *Chronograph* supplies the only exact length for his reign, viz. 5 years 5 months and 29 days, but it is not so clear, I think, that this calculation is to be trusted. On the other hand, it is clear (above, Gordian III, death) that news of Philip's acclamation by the troops must have reached Rome in about late February. If the date of senatorial recognition served as his *dies*, then we arrive at the time period suggested above.

Death: Loriot 1975b, 794-6; Rathbone 1986, 112.

The latest dates for Philip are supplied by *P. Harr.* 80.39-41 (Oxyrhynchite, 22 September 249), and Alexandrian coins dated to year seven, i.e. post 29 August 249. The earliest evidence for Trajan Decius as emperor is: *CJ* 10.16.3 (16 October 249) and *P. Oxy.* XIV 1636.39-41 (27 November 249). Also, since we know that Decius was killed ca. June 251 (below), and since there are only two Egyptian years for him, his *dies* must have fallen after 29 August 249. All of this would seem to indicate that senatorial recognition of Decius

¹⁶ The dates are accepted by: Schwartz 1977, 167; Boniū & Styłow 1982, 32 n. 6; Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 75.

came in September of 249, i.e. very soon after the defeat of Philip at Verona.¹⁷

Philip Junior, *dies Caesaris*, ca. mid-August 244

Loriot 1975b, 791-2; Rathbone 1986, 112.

Although there are literary indications that Philip Junior was associated immediately with his father,¹⁸ the documents indicate otherwise. Neither papyri nor Alexandrian coins reliably attest a first Egyptian year for Philip Junior.¹⁹ The lack of an Egyptian year one for the younger Philip indicates that the *dies Caesaris* fell very near to or just after 29 August 244. The earliest papyrus to mention him as *Caesar* is *P. Stras.* III 144.21-2 (13 October 244, provenance unknown). Hence, the senate must by ca. 13 September have voted Philip *Caesar*. The latest Egyptian date with Philip Senior alone is *PSI XII* 1238.37-8 (2 September 244), which makes it unlikely that the senate had voted the son *Caesar* before ca. 4 August. Finally, *CJ* 4.29.10 shows Philip as *Caesar* on 15 August. If the testimony of this law can be accepted, then the son must have been made *Caesar* in mid-August, but too late for those in Egypt to include him on documents of year one of the reign.

Philip Junior, *dies Augusti*, ca. July 247

Loriot 1975b, 792.

The younger Philip first appears as *Augustus* on the Alexandrian coins late (probably) in year four,²⁰ hence the *dies* must fall prior to 29 August 247. An inscription from Rome (*CIL VI* 32414) dated to 11 June 247 still calls him *Caesar*, which provides a probable *terminus post quem*. News of the *dies* must have arrived in Egypt close enough to the end of August so as not to allow coins of Philip Junior as *Augustus* to be produced in year three.

¹⁷ Loriot 1975b, 795 gives a slightly broader range of dates, viz. 29 August/16 October, but then (796) says that Philip cannot have died later than 11 September. But again, the *Chronograph of 354* is essential to the more precise dating. Schwartz 1977, 173, also based on the *Chronograph*, dates the death of Philip to 7 September 249. Cf. also Rea 1984b, 19-20.

¹⁸ *Epit. de Caes.* 28.3, *Eutrop.* 9.3, *Zonar.* 12.19.

¹⁹ *P. Oxy.* L 3565.8-10, *P. Flor.* 4.6 (both April/May 245), and *SB I* 4299.8 (July/August 245) all mention a "past year one" of both Philips. These are just retrospective scribal errors. For a questionable Alexandrian tetradrachm with Philip Junior during year one, Loriot 1975b, 792 n. 12. Loriot notes that the inscriptions also indicate the son to have been associated later rather than at the beginning of the reign.

²⁰ See now *KAK* 2795 ff. Also Vogt 1924, 195 and Milne 1933, 3689 ff.

Trajan Decius, ca. September 249 - ca. early June 251

Accession: See above, Philip the Arab, death.

I give here the likely date of Decius' recognition by the senate, which must have followed closely the battle at Verona. However, his acclamation by the troops may well have been in May or June.²¹ Given Decius' attempts to avoid conflict with Philip, his careful dealings with the senate and the testimony of the Egyptian evidence (above), we should probably suppose that his official *dies* fell on the day of senatorial recognition.²²

Death: Clarke 1980; Rathbone 1986, 113.

The latest Egyptian date for Decius is *O. Bodl.* II 1633 (30 June 251, Thebes); and an inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 31130 = 36760) dated to 24 June calls him *divus*. Another Roman inscription (*CIL* VI 31129), which dates to 9 June, does not yet have Decius deified. It would seem that he died early in June, very shortly after Herennius.

Herennius Etruscus, *dies Caesaris*, early September 250

Rea 1984b, 19-21; Rathbone 1986, 113.

The literary sources do not indicate precisely when Herennius was made *Caesar*.²³ However, the Egyptian documents (set out conveniently by Rea, loc. cit.) show that he was recognized as *Caesar* in Egypt not much before 16 September 250.²⁴ It may well be that he was made *Caesar* on the anniversary of Decius' *dies imperii*.²⁵

²¹ Loriot 1975b 794-5. Dusanit 1976 has argued for a brief period after the death of Philip when Philip Junior was associated with Decius. Against this, Poblansander 1982 and Rea 1984b, 19-20.

²² Cf. W. Ensslin, *CAH* XII 93-5. It is also conceivable that he dated his *dies* from the date of the defeat of Philip at Verona. Since the battle and senatorial recognition must have been nearly simultaneous, it is impossible to distinguish.

²³ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.1, *Epit. de Caes.* 29.1-2; *Eutrop.* 9.4; *Oros. hist. adv.* pag. 7.21.3.

²⁴ *P. Oxy.* LI 3608.1-7. Cf. 5.12.9 attests Herennius as *Caesar* on 8 June 250, but well may be mistaken. See Rea 1984b, 20-1.

²⁵ Cf. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 12.

Herennius Etruscus, *dies Augusti*, ca. May/June 251 (?)
Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 12-5.

A number of documents might attest Herennius as *Augustus*; but the only truly reliable testimonia are a few coins from Rome (*RJC* IV.3 153 -- 98 & 101).²⁶ Since no document from Egypt clearly labels Herennius *Augustus*, and since the only imperial mint to issue coins for him with this status was Rome, it looks as though he were raised to this status very close to his death in June.²⁷

Hostilian, *dies Caesaris*, early September 250

Rea 1984b, 19-21; Rathbone 1986, 113.

It would appear that Hostilian was made *Caesar* almost simultaneously with his brother.²⁸ *P. Oxy.* LI 3608.1-7 and 3609.11-5 show Decius with Herennius as *Caesar* on 16 and 30 September respectively. Hostilian first appears on 11 October (*P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2795.30-8). Hence, it would seem that there was a brief period at the beginning of September, during which the elder son was *Caesar*, but the younger was not. This is a bit odd, and it seems *prima facie* more likely that both were raised to the status of *Caesar* simultaneously and in celebration (possibly) of the anniversary of Decius' *dies*. It may be that the Egyptian documents are slightly misleading in this sense.

²⁶ Several inscriptions might be adduced, none of which alone could stand as proof of this status: *CIL* II 4953/*IRT* 936 (102); *CIL* III 5988 and 5989 (155); *CIL* III 13312 (99); *CIL* VI 31129 (141); *IG* XII,5 667/*Syll.* 3 890 (164); Reynolds 1982, 25 (147). *O. Bodl.* II 1633, where Decius and both sons are οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Σεβαστοῖ might also indicate this; but the document may also be simply imprecise. *SNGAul* 5113 (100) calls him *Augustus*, but this is hardly proof of the status.

²⁷ Mattingly & Sydenham 1924, 18 suggest that Herennius was raised when Decius sent him to Illyricum to prepare for the battle with the Goths on the Danube. This, however, would place his elevation earlier, in (say) late winter 250/251. Cf. also Halfmann 1986, 235-6.

²⁸ Note, though, that the literary sources talk only of Herennius Etruscus being made *Caesar*: *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.1; *Epit. de Caes.* 29.2; *Eutrop.* 9.4; *Oros. hist. adv.* pag. 7.21.3. Cf. also the *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, where only Decius is mentioned.

Hostilian, *dies Augusti*, ca. June 251 (?)
Sotgiu 1975, 798-9; Rea 1984b, 20-1.

It is not at all clear just when Hostilian first became *Augustus*. It has been argued that he was made *Augustus* while Decius was still alive.²⁹ On the other hand, it may be that he remained *Caesar* until after the death of his father, and that Trebonianus Gallus first raised him to the position of *Augustus*.³⁰ If so, the date would be in June.

Hostilian, death, ca. 24 June/30 July 251

There is a papyrus (*SB* VI 9235.1, Thebes) that attests the joint reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilian on 13 August 251. Another (*P. Oxy.* LI 3610.6 and 8) dates before 30 August 251, and has Trebonianus Gallus alone. It would appear that Hostilian died during the interval represented by these two papyri, and with travel time taken into account, we arrive at the dates given.

Pacatianus, ca. 21 April 248 - 20 April 249

For the dates, Loriot 1975b, 794. See also *RIC* IV.3, 65-6.

Iotapianus, ca. 248/249

For the dates, Loriot, 1975b, 794.

²⁹ Alföldi 1967, 344-5. L. Pareti, *Storia di Roma e del mondo romano VI* (Turin 1961) 29 suggests that he was made *Augustus* by Decius after Herennius was killed. There appears to have been very little time, however, between the deaths of Herennius and Decius. Cf. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, ■■■.

³⁰ *RIC* IV.3, 109-10. See also C. Préaux, "Trébonien Galle ■ Hostilianus" *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 152-7 and Sotgiu 1975, 799.

Silbannacus, ca. 248/249

One antoninianus attests this usurper. Cf. *RIC* IV.3 p. 105.

Sponsianus, ca. 248/249

As with Silbannacus, a few rare coins attest this usurper. Cf. *RIC* IV.3 p. 106

Julius Valens Lucinianus, ca. February/March 251³¹

That he revolted is attested by the *Epit. de Caes.* 29.5 and *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.3. Cyprian *Ep.* 55.9, which was written in early March 251,³² mentions an *aemulus princeps* just at this moment. In question is most likely Lucinianus.³³ There is no documentary evidence for Lucinianus.

Trebonianus Gallus, ca. early June 251 - late July/early August 253

Accession: Paschoud 1971, 147 n. 51; Rea 1984b.

By dating Decius' death to June (above), we gain a fixed point for Gallus' proclamation by the troops at Abrittus. He then spent a bit of time settling affairs on the Danube and next returned to Rome, where the senate confirmed him. The official *dies* may well have fallen on the day of acclamation by the troops.

Death: See below, Aemilianus.

³¹ The name is given variously in the MSS (also Lucianus and Licinianus). I depend here upon Pichlmayr's decision.

³² Clarke 1980, 115-6.

³³ Alföldi 1967, 344.

Volusian, *dies Caesaris*, ca. June 251

The literary sources have Volusian associated with his father from the start of the reign, and his status initially must have been as *Caesar*.³⁴

Volusian, *dies Augusti*, ca. late July/early August 251

Rea 1984b, 21.

It appears that Gallus first associated himself with Hostilian, then ruled briefly alone, and finally took Volusian as his full partner. Since Volusian's Egyptian year dating is the same as his father's, it stands to reason that the son's *dies* fell prior to 29 August 251 -- but probably not much earlier.

Volusian, death, late July/early August 253

See below, Aemilianus.

Aemilianus, ca. late July - mid-September 253

Lafaurie 1966, 144-5; Price 1973, 75-6; Schwartz 1977, 173; Rathbone 1986, 115-7.

We are told that Aemilian reigned for approximately three months,³⁵ and we now know that one of those months was September of 253 (Price loc. cit.). The evidence for *termini* is Egyptian.

Gallus and Volusian..... *P. Oxy.* VIII 1119.30 (22 August 253)
(latest attestation)

Aemilian..... *P. Köln* IV 196.21 (25 July/23 August 253)

Aemilian..... *O. Petr.* 139 (19 September 253)

Aemilian..... *P. Oxy.* X 1286.10 & *P. Got.* 4.23-6 (28 September/
27 October 253)

Valerian..... *P. Köln* IV 196 (28 September/27 October 253)

³⁴ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 30.1, *Eutrop.* 9.5, *Zonar.* 12.21, *Zos.* 1.24.1. A few documents, though not many, attest him as *Caesar*: cat. nos. 44-6.

³⁵ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 31.3, *Epit. de Caes.* 31.2 (he died in his fourth month of rule), *Eutrop.* 9.6, *Cedrenus Hist. Compedit.* (Bonn) p. 454 (one year), *Zonar.* 12.22 (not quite four months), *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 (88 days).

It is also worth noting that the Alexandrian coins show only year two for Aemilian; there was apparently no time to prepare an issue for year one. The Egyptian evidence seems to demonstrate that news of Aemilian's accession reached Egypt sometime late in August. Taking travel time into account then, he must have been recognized at Rome late in July or possibly very early in August. As for the end of his reign, we have papyri from Phaophi for both Aemilian and Valerian. Hence, news of the change in emperors arrived in Egypt in the period between 28 September and 27 October. Again, taking travel time into account, the recognition of Valerian at Rome must be placed sometime in September -- we might guess somewhere towards the middle (say, in the 20's) of the month. The three months of the chronographic sources, then, might be July, August and September.³⁶

Uranius Antoninus, ca. summer 253 - winter 253/254

I accept the dates proposed by Baldus 1971, 19-44 & 69-71³⁷

Valerian, mid-September 253 - ca. June 260

Accession: see above, Aemilian

Death: Christol 1975, 818-21; König 1981, 20-31; Kettenhofen 1982, 97-9; Rathbone 1986, 117-8; Harl 1987, 112-3; Drinkwater 1987, 96-102.³⁸

³⁶ Rathbone 1986, 116 n. 2 argues that both these dates (roughly) and the three month figure for the length of the reign cannot be correct. However, if we accept that Aemilian ruled during three different months, and not for three complete months, then we might to this extent retain both.

³⁷ Callu 1969, 175 fl. dates Uranius between ca. May 253 and Valerian's arrival in the East (mid-summer 254). For the date of the latter, Pekáry 1962, 123-8 and Halfmann 1986, 236.

³⁸ I give here only the most recent literature for placing Valerian's capture in 260, which seems almost certainly the correct date. Also for 260, G. Wirth, *EJ* 181 (1981) 655. Others, however, have argued for 259: Lopuszanski 1951; Fitz 1966, 22-4; de Blois 1976, 2; Kuhoff 1979, 16-7. Elks 1975, 91-109 has argued, on the basis of hoard evidence, that Valerian was captured late in 257 or early in 258.

Again, Egyptian documents provide the most reliable testimony.³⁹ The latest trustworthy papyrological indication of Valerian is *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2186.12 (28 August 260). There is one Alexandrian coin dated to year eight of Valerian, viz. post 29 August 260 (Milne 1933, 4050). To this might be added an inscription (*CIL* VIII 12294 (=23877)/*ILT* 1416), which attests a ninth tribunician iteration for him (10 December 260 - 9 December 261, see below). Macrianus and Quietus first appear as *Augusti* in the papyri on 17 September 260 (*P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476,12-3). News of the revolt of Macrianus and Quietus, then, reached Egypt sometime between ca. 29 August and 17 September 260. It would appear that Valerian was captured in June,⁴⁰ and that Macrianus proclaimed his sons early in September.⁴¹

Valerian Caesar, ca. September 256 - summer 258

Zaccaria 1978, esp. 69-78 and 116-22; Rea 1984a; Drinkwater 1987, 103.

Valerian Junior appears first in the fourth Egyptian year (256/57) of Valerian and Gallienus (*BGU* III 945, September/October 256; Milne 1933, p. 94; *KAK* 2991 ff.). The Alexandrian coins would indicate that his *dies Caesaris* fell after 29 August 256, while the papyrus shows that his elevation was known in Egypt no later than 27 October. Hence, the date in September for his *dies*. His death is to be placed in the summer of 258 (below, *Saloninus*).

Saloninus Caesar, ca. June/July 258 - fall 260

Zaccaria 1978, 69-78 and 137-9; Rea 1984a, 1125 (esp. n. 1).

The Alexandrian coins show *Valerian Caesar* exclusively during years four (256/57) and five (257/58), and then *Saloninus* for years five, six and seven (i.e. 257/58 - 259/60). There

³⁹ Note that several documents dating long after Valerian's capture and death still name him as emperor: *CJ* 3.8.3 (262), 5.62.17 (8 January 265), *P. Grenf.* II 69 (7 October 265). See also König 1981, 24-5.

⁴⁰ Cf. Alföldi 1967, 349 and Christol 1975, 818-20. Also Şahin et al. 1983, 51 for a date of 25 June.

⁴¹ Rathbone 1986, 118 n. 1 remarks that since year one of Macrianus and Quietus is the Egyptian year 260/61, their proclamation in Syria must have post-dated 29 August 260. König 1981, 26-7 suggests that news of the usurpation will have reached Egypt within a month, and that early to mid-September is here in question. The gap in time between Valerian's capture and the revolt of Macrianus and Quietus is also revealed by a series of antoniniani of Gallienus minted at Samosata by Macrianus the elder in this interval. Cf. Alföldi 1967, 135-6 and 220. The fact that there are Alexandrian coins only of year one (Milne 1933, 4053-8; *KAK* 3011-4) also shows that their *dies* fell after 29 August.

is, however, little attestation of *Saloninus* on the coins of year five.⁴² The first papyrus for *Saloninus* is *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2560.23-7 (4-12 August 258).⁴³ Corrected for Rome, this gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the death of *Valerian Caesar* and the *dies* of *Saloninus* of roughly 4-12 July 258. The latest papyrus of *Saloninus* is *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2186.10 and 12-3 (28 August 260). It is just at this point, however, that Macrianus and Quietus were recognized in Egypt, as a result of which, Gallienus and *Saloninus* disappear from the Egyptian documents for roughly a year. With Gallienus' return to control of Egypt in the summer/fall of 261, *Saloninus* has disappeared. Thus he must have died sometime between 28 August 260 and approximately the same season in the next year. We know that *Saloninus* was killed by Postumus,⁴⁴ which allows a more precise fix. The revolt of Postumus can, with some security, be placed in the fall of 260. This, then, is when *Saloninus* must have been killed.⁴⁵

Gallienus, mid-September 253 - ca. early September 268

Accession: Pflaum 1966/67; Christol 1975, 808-9; Rathbone 1986, 117.

Several of the literary sources report that Gallienus was briefly associated as *Caesar* with Valerian; however, this appears to be a mistake.⁴⁶ The joint reign lasted, then, from mid-September 253 until Valerian's capture ca. June 260. A period of confusion follows, but by the fall of 261 the East was loyal once again, and Gallienus' sole reign begins.⁴⁷

⁴² Milne 1933, 3990, *KAK* 3001.

⁴³ Zaccaria 1978, 70 ff. takes this papyrus to date 1 Mesore. However, as the original editors and Rea 1984a 1125 n. 1 remark, the date consisted of a double digit number, with the first letter being iota. Hence, the possible dates given here.

⁴⁴ *HA* *trig. tyr.* 3.1-2. According to another tradition, the Gauls killed *Saloninus* out of hatred of Gallienus -- *HA* *trig. tyr.* 3.3. The former tradition seems the more probable -- König 1981, 47-8.

⁴⁵ König 1981, 41-51.

⁴⁶ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 32.3; *Eutrop.* 9.7; *Oros. hist. adv. pag.* 7.22.1; *Hieron. Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 220. Against the official association of *Gallicanus* as *Caesar*, M. Peachin, "Gallienus Caesar?" *ZPE* 74 (1988) 219-24.

⁴⁷ It is now clear that there is no papyrological testimony for a year eight (260/61) -- Rathbone 1986, 117-8 n. 4. A few Alexandrian coins do, however, attest this year -- Milne 1933, 4051 and 4059-61.

Death: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 77; Rathbone 1986, 120.

Two documents are here essential. The latest papyrus attesting Gallienus (*P. Tebt. II* 581) dates to 28 September 268, while the earliest of Claudius II (*P. Stras. I* 10.23-5) dates to 16 October 268. News of Claudius' accession, then, reached Egypt during the first half of October, hence the senate must have voted the imperial honors to Claudius during the first half of September. Gallienus' murder at Milan, then, will have been (probably) late in August or very early in September.⁴⁸ Given this dating, it may seem odd that there are no Alexandrian coins of year 16 of Gallienus; but perhaps the mint had not yet struck an issue for the new year, or perhaps they had not yet released the new issue and simply melted it down when news of Claudius' accession arrived.

Ingenuus, ca. June/mid-summer 260

Fitz 1966; Christol 1975, 820; Göbl 1970; König 1981, §1; Drinkwater 1987, 100-4.

It seems now clear that Ingenuus revolted while Gallienus was at Milan, and that this came just after the death of Valerian. The revolt was, however, put down rapidly.

Regalianus, ca. June - ca. fall 260

Fitz 1966; Christol 1975, 820; Göbl 1970; *PLRE I* 762; Barnes 1972, 170; Dembski 1977; König 1981, §1; Drinkwater 1987, 100-4.

Gallienus was rid of Ingenuus when Regalianus revolted, though the uprisings were probably not far apart. Once again, the usurpation was short-lived.

Macrianus and Quietus, ca. early September 260 - ca. summer/fall 261

Accession: See above, Valerian, death.

⁴⁸ For the sequence of events, Zos. 1.40-1, Zonar. 12.25. The *HA* (Claud. 4.2) is grossly in error by claiming that Claudius' acclamation was announced in Rome on 24 March. See Christol 1975, 824-5 and König 1981, 130.

Death: Here again we depend upon Egyptian documents (see esp. König 1981, 24-5).

<i>BGU VII</i> 1568 (15 June 261).....	Macrianus & Quietus
<i>P. Stras. I</i> 5.7 (14 August 261)	Gallienus
<i>P. Stras. I</i> 6.37-8 (30 October 261).....	Macrianus & Quietus
<i>P. Stras. I</i> 7.1-2 (30 March 262).....	Gallienus

The Alexandrian mint produced coins only of year one for these two (i.e. 29 August 260-28 August 261), and there are a few coins of Gallienus' year eight (260/261) -- Milne 1933, 4051, 4059-61.⁴⁹ It would appear that Egypt was again loyal to Gallienus by August 261. Furthermore, *P. Stras. I* 5 seems to indicate that people in Hermopolis thought Gallienus back in power by mid-August 261. The course of events may account for this apparent confusion in the Egyptian documents.⁵⁰ Having seized power, Macrianus took his son of the same name and marched west, leaving Ballista and his other son Quietus in the East. Macrianus marched as far as Illyricum, where he engaged in battle Domitianus, who defeated and killed the two Macriani. When news of this reached the East, Ballista shifted his allegiance to Odenathus, and allowed Quietus to be murdered. I would suggest that Macrianus spent the winter of 260/61 consolidating his position in the East and gathering his troops. The march west must have occupied (say) the spring of 261. The battle in Illyricum, then, might well have taken place in mid-summer of the year, and news of this reached Egypt by August, but probably late in August because there are so few coins of year eight (260/61) for Gallienus (though there might have been a period of confusion when the officials at the mint could not decide what to do). The confusion continued into the fall of 261 (cf. *P. Stras. I* 6) because Quietus was still alive. His death should probably be placed sometime in the fall or early winter of 261, for it was only in 262 that the mint at Antioch began again to mint in Gallienus' name.⁵¹

⁴⁹ On the few papyri that had been thought possibly to attest a year eight for Gallienus, Rathbone 1986, 117-8.

⁵⁰ *HA Gall.* 1.2-3.2 and *HA trig.* 1.2-14.2.

⁵¹ See also Alföldi 1967, 156-7, and Göbl 1952, 27-31. Further Barnes 1972, 163.

L. Mussius Aemilianus, ca. summer or fall 261/summer 262

PLRE I 23 Aemilianus 6; Barnes 1972 146.

P. Oxy. XXXIV 2710 shows Aemilianus still as prefect on 17 May 261, but by August 262 a new man held the office (*P. Stras.* I 5). We know also that Aemilianus revolted when the uprising of Macrianus and Quietus came to an end (*HA Gall.* 4.1-2).⁵²

Aureolus, ca. April/May - late September 268

Alföldi 1967, 1-15; *PLRE I* 138; Barnes 1972, 149; König 1981, 125-31; Drinkwater 1987, 31-3, and 146-7.⁵³

Claudius II, ca. early September 268 - mid-August 270

Accession: See above, Gallienus, death.⁵⁴

Death: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 81-5; Rea 1977, 227-9; Rathbone 1986, 120-1.

The latest papyrological date for Claudius is *P. Oxy.* XIV 1646.32-4 (28 September/27 October 270). There are also Alexandrian coins of Claudius' year three (i.e. post 29 August 270).⁵⁵ Though there are no papyri attesting Quintillus, there are Alexandrian coins of his year one.⁵⁶ News of Claudius' death, then, cannot have reached Alexandria until sometime

⁵² Cf. B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium I* (Göteborg 1984) 357-8.

⁵³ Bastien 1984, 133-4 and 140 argues that all of Aureolus' coins are probably fakes.

⁵⁴ See also Bastien 1984, 134-7.

⁵⁵ Milne 1933, 4284-95 and *KAK* 3046-8.

⁵⁶ Milne 1933, 4296-8 and *KAK* 3049-50.

in September of 270. The news had to travel from Sirmium to Rome, and thence to Alexandria. Allowing for travel time, we should place Claudius' death in about mid-August.

Quintillus, post 29 August - mid-September 270

Barnes 1972, 168-70; Rea 1972b, esp. 23-4; Price 1973, esp. 81-5; Rathbone 1986, 121-2. News of Claudius' death resulted in the acclamation, and apparent senatorial approval, of Quintillus.⁵⁷ The fact that there are Alexandrian coins only of his year one demonstrates that his *dies imperii* must have fallen after 29 August 270.⁵⁸ Though there are no papyri dated by Quintillus, there are some dated ἐτῶν ἑναρτων, of which the earliest dates to 12 October 270.⁵⁹ Rathbone suggests that the Palmyrene invasion was not the cause of these papyri, but rather news of Quintillus' death inspired the dating. He can resultantly suggest a reign of ca. 27 days for Quintillus.⁶⁰ Still, a dating by consuls in this period is extremely unusual and probably suggests more than just a change of emperors.⁶¹

Aurelian, ca. mid to late August 270 - mid-September/early December 275

Accession: Rea 1972b, 20-5; Price 1973 77-83; Rathbone 1986, 122-4.

Claudius died in (say) mid-August, and shortly thereafter his brother Quintillus was placed on the throne; but his reign came quickly to a close. At first, Aurelian's accession was dated to mid-September 270 in the Egyptian documents, but later dated prior to 29 August, so as

⁵⁷ Eutrop. 9.12 says that he was elected emperor *consensu milium*, and named *Augustus consensu senatus*. Hieron. *Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 222 is similar --Quintillus, *Claudii frater, a senatu Augustus appellatus*. Zonar. 12.26 says that some reports attributed the senate with his proclamation. The fact that we have coins minted at Rome and Alexandria demonstrates senatorial approval. See also Paschoud 1971, 162 n. 75.

⁵⁸ Milne 1933, 4296-8 and *KAK* 3049-50.

⁵⁹ For a list see Rathbone 1986, 123.

⁶⁰ Rathbone 1986, 122 suggests 29 August/24 September.

⁶¹ Cf. K. Strobel, *Mundus ece mutat et labitur? Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Mentalen Strukturen breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten im Imperium Romanum* (Heidelberg forthcoming) Chpt. V.3.

to make the *dies imperii* coincide with the date of Claudius' death.⁶² This back-dating of the *dies* is also supported by Zonar. 12.26, where it is reported that Claudius, on his deathbed, designated Aurelian, but that the senate appointed Quintillus upon hearing of Claudius' death. This version of events was probably part of Aurelian's propaganda, designed to discredit Quintillus.

Death:

The latest document attesting Aurelian is *P. Oxy.* XII 1455.20-6 (19 October 275),⁶³ while the earliest of Tacitus is *P. Cair. Isid.* 108.17-9 = *SB* V 7677 (9 May 276). We know that Tacitus was consul on 1 January 276,⁶⁴ and it also appears that Tacitus had two tribunician iterations, the second beginning (probably) on 10 December 275. Aurelian's death and Tacitus' accession, then, should be dated in the period ca. mid-September/early December 275.⁶⁵ The six month interregnum claimed by some of the literary sources is most likely a mistake.⁶⁶

⁶² Rea's interpretation is now reaffirmed by Van't Dack 1982, 329-30.

⁶³ *O. Mich.* I 157.3 is published with a reference to year eight of Aurelian. This, however, must be a mistake of some kind. See: Youbie, *Scriptulae* I 159; Price 1973, 84 n. 53; Rathbone 1986 124 n. 8.

⁶⁴ Degrassi 1952, 74.

⁶⁵ Note that *HA Tac.* 3.2 ff. claims that Tacitus was proclaimed on 25 September. It should also be noted that Tacitus' second tribunician iteration has been called *extra metum*, hence irrelevant for the chronology of his reign. See (e.g.) Rathbone 1986, 125 n. 1.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 36.1, *Epit. de Caes.* 35.10 (seven months), *HA Tac.* 2.1. These same sources also claim a rule of six months for Tacitus, which seems too neat a coincidence -- see Syme 1971, 237-8. It may be that we are dealing here with some sort of confusion introduced by the *KG*. There are also some coins that have been thought to suggest an interregnum (*RIC* V.1 p. 361), but this now seems not to be acceptable -- D. Yonge, "The So-Called Interregnum Coinage" *NC* 7.19 (1979), 47-60. Chastagnol 1980, 76-7 suggests that Aurelian died in October, that there was a brief interregnum (ca. October - November/December), and Tacitus' *dies* fell in late November or early December.

Domitianus, ca. 271 (?)

Almost nothing is known of this man. He may have been Aurelius' general who fought Macrianus (*HA* *trig. tyr.* 12.14).⁶⁷ Otherwise, see: *RIC* V.2, p. 578; Homo 1904, 81. n. 3; *PLRE* I 262 Domitianus 1.

Zenobia and Vaballathus, ca. winter 271/72 - ■. May/June 272

Accession: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 77-84; Rathbone 1986, 122-4.

The Egyptian evidence shows Claudius as late as September/October 270 (*P. Oxy.* XIV 1646), a year one for Quintillus (above n. 58), a year one of Aurelian alone (Milne 1933, 4299-4303 and *KAK* 3051-2), and then a period of dating ἐτῶν ὡντων during October/November of 270. By 7/15 December we get the first dating with Aurelian and Vaballathus (*P. Oxy.* XL 2921.6-11). It would appear then, that Zenobia's general Zabdas must have captured Egypt in about November 270.⁶⁸ The Alexandrian coins, just as all of the known papyrological documents, show jointly Aurelian and Vaballathus through most of Vaballathus' year five (i.e. 271/72). However, there are a few late issues of year five with Vaballathus or Zenobia alone (Milne 1933, 4349-53, *KAK* 3064-5). The situation is apparently similar on the coins of Antioch.⁶⁹ This evidence would seem to suggest that there was some kind of arrangement between Aurelian and the Palmyrenes until about winter 271/72. Then, Zenobia and Vaballathus seem to have claimed complete independence, and to have revolted openly from Rome.

Defeat: See above, accession.

The earliest Egyptian document with Aurelian as sole ruler again (after his year one) is *P. Oxy.* XL 2902.16-8 (24 June 272). This gives a *terminus ante quem* for his defeat of Zenobia and Vaballathus.

⁶⁷ See Barnes 1972, 156.

⁶⁸ See also P.J. Parsons, "A Proclamation of Vaballathus?" *CE* 42 (1967) esp. 400-1.

⁶⁹ Cf. M. Peachin, "Johannes Malas and the Moneyers' Revolt" in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History III* (Brussels 1983) 329-30. It must be admitted, however, that the Antiochene coins still deserve a close study before their chronology can be determined absolutely.

Tacitus, mid-September/early December 275 - ca. June 276

Accession: See above, Aurelian, death.

Death: Schwartz 1948, 466; Vitucci 1952, 129; Polverini 1975; Schwartz 1977, 171; Chastagnol 1980, 77.

Fixing dates for Tacitus' death, the brief reign of Florian and the accession of Probus is problematic. Events proceeded, roughly, as follows.⁷⁰ Tacitus came to the throne sometime in the fall of 275. Meanwhile, the Goths had invaded Asia Minor and pushed as far as Cilicia. Tacitus attacked, won a victory, but shortly thereafter was murdered (or died) somewhere in Asia Minor. His brother, and praetorian prefect, Florian then took the purple. However, nearly simultaneously the army in Syria raised Probus. Florian advanced as far as Tarsus, but there took ill and died, which left Probus as sole emperor. The latest Egyptian attestation of Tacitus is *P. Oxy.* VI 907.27-8 (25 June/24 July 276),⁷¹ and the coins from Alexandria attest only a year one. There are no Egyptian documents for Florian.⁷² The earliest document for Probus (*O. Mich.* I 157.1) has no month date, only year one (hence prior to 29 August 276), and there is a small issue of his year one from the Alexandrian mint.⁷³ The chronographic sources are fairly uniform in assigning Tacitus a reign of six months, while they give two or three months to Florian.⁷⁴ Tacitus must have

⁷⁰ Zos. 1.63-4; Zonar. 12.28. Also Besnier 1937, 266-9 and Mattingly 1939, 311-3.

⁷¹ *PSI* V 457.20-1 is dated by Claudio II, not Tacitus. The proper date of the document is 25 July 269. Cf. R. Piatudi, "Note di lettura" *ZPE* 27 (1977) 117-8.

⁷² Since Probus controlled Egypt (Zos. 1.64.1) this is no surprise. Note also that Antioch minted no coins for Florian. See M. Weder, "The Eastern Issues of Probus" *NC* 144 (1984), 206-10.

⁷³ Milne 1933, xciv argues that the first Egyptian year of Probus must have covered more than three months, this based on the size of the issue for this year. Though he may be right, still it is dangerous to make such arguments based on the size of coin issues. Cf. Bastien 1984, 135; Peachin 1985, 76.

⁷⁴ We have the following:

Chron. 354 (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 -- Tacitus, 8 months 12 days; Florian, 88 days
Eutrop. 9.16 -- Tacitus, ca. 6 months; Florian, 2 months 20 days
Aur. Vict. Caes. 36.2 -- Tacitus, 200 days; 37.1 -- Florian, 1 or 2 months
Epit. de Caes. 36.1 -- Tacitus, 200 days; 36.2 -- Florian, 60 days
HA Tac. 13.5 and 14.5 -- Tacitus, ca. 6 months; 14.5 -- Florian, ca. 2 months
Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.24.1 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 3 months
Prosper Tiro Epit. Chron. (ed. Mommsen) p. 443 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 88 days
Chron. Gall. ad a. 511 (ed. Mommsen) p. 642 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 89 days
Cassiod. Chron. (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 88 days

survived into (roughly) June of 276. Probus will have been recognized in Syria and Egypt very shortly after -- probably also in about June. Florian's two or three months, then, were ca. June through (say) August of 276.

Florian, ca. June - August 276

See above, Tacitus, death.

Probus, ca. June 276 - September/9 December 282

Accession: See above, Tacitus, death.

Death: Gallazzi 1976, 245-8; Rathbone 1986, 126.

The latest Egyptian document for Probus is now *P. Oxy.* L 3569.15-6 (28 October/27 November 282), while the earliest of Carus is *P. Oxy.* I 55.16-9 (7 April 283).⁷⁵ The papyri, then, would suggest a range of ca. September (or October) 282 - early March 283 for the accession of Carus. The Alexandrian coins show for Probus eight years; hence, he must have remained on the throne past late August 282.⁷⁶ As we shall see below, Carus must have been killed ca. July 283. The documents are fairly consistent in attributing two tribunician iterations to him; hence, he probably came to the throne prior to 10 December 282. Thus, the date of Probus' death and Carus' accession falls between ca. September/October and 9 December 282.

⁷⁵ *P. Com.* 12.1-3 (attesting Carus) had been thought to date to Choiak (November/December) of 282, but has now been re-read, and dates really to 25 June/24 July 283. See Rathbone 1986, 127 n. 2. There are also several early datings for Carinus, but these all appear to be retrospective. Again, Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 2. *P. Com. Inv.* 78 = Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* no. 282 is dated by Carinus alone to 13 September 282. The document is, however, certainly retrospective. Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 2.

⁷⁶ Milne 1933, 4653-9 and *KAK* 3158.

Saturninus, ca. 277/281

PLRE I 808 Saturninus 12; Paschoud 1971, 173 n. 95; Barnes 1972, 171-2; Chastagnol 1980, 78.

Of Saturninus we know next to nothing. He was possibly governor of Syria, and revolted in the East. Zosimus (1.61.1) seems to place the revolt toward the beginning of Probus' reign, while Hieron. *Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 224 puts it in 281. Chastagnol (loc. cit.) suggests three possible dates, all represented by lacunae in the papyrological documentation: August-December 277; September 278-January 279; August-November 280.

Proculus and Bonosus, ca. 280

PLRE I 163 Bonosus 1; *PLRE I* 745 Proculus 1; Barnes 1972, 150-1 and 168; Salzmann 1980, 49 ff.

We know essentially nothing other than that these two revolted at Cologne and were put down by Probus. The few coins of Bonosus that exist may be fakes (see below in the catalogue).

Carus, ca. September/9 December 282 - ca. July 283

Accession: See above, Probus, death.

Death: Van't Dack 1974, 886 n. 117; Bird 1976, 123-5; Rathbone 1986, 127.

The latest papyrological attestation of Carus is *P. Oxy. XIV* 1744.6, dated merely year two (i.e. post 29 August 283). There are also Alexandrian coins of his year two, but none of year three.⁷⁷ The earliest dating by Carinus and Numerian, without Carus, is *BGU VII* 1611.1-2 (15 September 283, Arsinoite). News, then, of Carus' death seems to have arrived in Egypt during August of 283. Since the news had to travel from Ctesiphon (and possibly via Rome), we can guess that Carus perished in about July. The evidence regarding Numerian as *Augustus* (see below) also supports this dating.

⁷⁷ Milne 1933, 4708 ff.

Carinus, ca. spring 283 (?) - spring 285

Accession: Gallazzi 1976, 249-50; Chastagnol 1980, 79; Rathbone 1986, 127-8.

Various documents indicate that Carinus was made *Augustus* while Carus yet lived (cat. nos. 140 ff.). Gallazzi (art. cit.) argued on the basis of *O. Mich. I* 26.1 that Carinus' *dies* must have fallen prior to 17 June, or prior to mid-May with travel time taken into account; however, the restoration of the papyrus is problematic, and cannot be pressed (cf. Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 1). Hence, we cannot be certain of Carinus' *dies*, but spring may be a good guess. Carus may well have made his elder son *Augustus* when leaving with Numerian on the Persian campaign.⁷⁸ In any case, to this point Carinus had been *Caesar*.⁷⁹

Death:

The battle at the Margus river and Carinus' death are most frequently placed in spring of 285.⁸⁰ Hydatius (ed. Mommsen) p. 229 has the following entry for 285: *Diocletiano II et Aristobulo. His consulibus occisus est Carinus Margo, qui ipso anno cum Aristobulo consul processerat*. This is the only direct evidence available regarding the date of the battle.

Numerian, ca. July 283 - November 284

Accession: Gallazzi 1976, 250-52; Chastagnol 1980, 79; Rathbone 1986, 127-8.

No document calls Carus and Numerian simultaneously *Augusti*. Thus, it would appear that so long as Carus lived, Numerian remained *Caesar*. It would also seem logical to suppose that the troops in the East proclaimed him *Augustus* when Carus died.⁸¹ There are Alexandrian coins with Numerian as *Augustus* dated to year one (prior to 29 August 283),

⁷⁸ This cannot be dated exactly, but see Meloni 1948, 98. The remark of the *HA Car.* 9.4 that the immediately preceding war with the Sarmatians was settled *pacissimis diebus* seems roughly accurate. See Alföldy 1966, 21-6.

⁷⁹ See the literary testimonia in the catalogue, as well as cat. nos. 51 ff.

⁸⁰ Meloni 1948, 164-70; Polverini 1975, 1032; Bird 1976, 130; Barnes 1982, 50. Chastagnol 1980, 79 on the basis of the information supplied by the *Chronograph of 354* dates Carinus' death to August/September 285.

⁸¹ Eutrop. 9.19.2 claims that Numerian died still as *Caesar*. The *HA Car.* 12.1-13.1 implies that Numerian was *Augustus* at least by the time he began to fall ill. Zonar. 12.30 says that upon the death of Carus, "Numerian, his son, was left as sole emperor with the army."

which in conjunction with the evidence for Carus' death lead to the supposition that Numerian's *dies* followed close upon Carus' death.⁸² The evidence of the Alexandrian coins seems to show that the news of Carus' death and Numerian's promotion must have arrived after the coins of Carus' year two had begun to be struck, but in time also to get up an issue of year one for Numerian. Thus, the news came just toward the end of August.

Death: Bird 1976, 127-30; Barnes 1981, 1.

The date of Numerian's death is now clear. *P. Panop. Beatty* 2 has proved that 20 November 284 was Diocletian's *vicennalia*, hence the date of his *dies imperii*, and thus the date of the discovery of the dead Numerian at Nicomedia.⁸³

M. Aurelius Sabinus Julianus, ca. summer 283 (?)

PLRE I 474 Julianus 23 and I 480 Julianus 38; Paschoud 1971, 178-80.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.10 claims Julianus to have revolted upon the death of Carus, while Zos. 1.73.2 places the event at the time of Numerian's death. We are also told that he was defeated by Carinus, either in Illyria (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.10) or Italy (*Epit. de Caes.* 38.6, Zos. 1.73.3). That he controlled Pannonia, issuing coins at Siscia, is also clear. Most place the revolt at the time of Numerian's death.⁸⁴ Still, the point in time just after Numerian's death, with Carinus still controlling the West, Diocletian about to advance from the East and most of the Danube area loyal to Diocletian, will have been rather an inauspicious moment for revolt.⁸⁵ It may be, then, that Aurelius Victor places correctly the inception of the revolt.

⁸² P. Fouad. *Univ.* 23.19-22 records Carinus as *Augustus* and Numerian as *Caesar*, and is dated to 28 September 283 (Raithbone 1986, 127-8). The document may reflect the fact that news of Numerian's rise in status had not yet reached Hermopolis, or it could be that there was confusion in Egypt as to Numerian's exact status.

⁸³ W. Ensslin, "Zum *dies imperii* des Kaisers Diocletian" *Aegyptus* 28 (1948), 178-94 argued forcefully for this date even before the publication of the papyrus.

⁸⁴ G. Henze, "Aurelius (75)" *RE* 2, 2456; E. Pegan, "Imperator Marcus Aurelius Julianus" *Numismaticke vijesti* 26 (1968) 45-7; P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Wetteren 1988) 61.

⁸⁵ It looks as though Constantius in Dalmatia, at least, must quickly have declared for Diocletian. See M. Peachin, "A Note on the Early Days of Diocletian's Reign" forthcoming *AIAH*. Note also that Barnes 1981, 5 assumes the Danubian provinces to have sided almost immediately with Diocletian. H. Mattingly, *CAH* XII, 323 says that Julianus revolted "even before the elevation of Diocles." It is not clear as to just how long before.

2. Other Chronological Elements

Tribunician Power — *Tribunicia potestas* was initially reckoned from and renewed on the date at which the comitium vote was taken to grant it. The Flavians seem to have changed this scheme, renewing instead on their respective *dies imperii*. Finally, Trajan initiated the custom of reckoning from the day on which the *tribuni plebis* took office, i.e. from 10 December. This was then the case through the reign of Alexander Severus at least.⁸⁶ The mid-third century presents a rather mired picture, but with Diocletian we again find the practice of renewal on 10 December.⁸⁷

It is extremely difficult to establish any a priori rules for renewal of the tribunician power during the period here in question. Dio may indicate that in his day, emperors renewed their tribunician powers on 10 December, though this again brings us only so far as Alexander Severus.⁸⁸ Nor is there any direct evidence to prove that this tradition was adhered to consistently throughout the third century. On the other hand, the fact that Diocletian did reckon from the traditional date is an indication that the custom (or at least its memory) survived through the century. It seems reasonable, then, to begin from the assumption that the tribunician power was iterated on 10 December annually throughout our period. Where the evidence against seems incontrovertible, I shall have to abandon this stance; but unless the evidence is heavily weighed against, this assumption will prevail.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ This abbreviated account derives from Hammond 1949 and Hammond 1959, 76-6. See also Loriot 1974, 300 n. 19 and Mastino 1981, 46. For other arguments (e.g.), F.H. Stobbe, "Die Tribunenzahre der römischen Kaiser" *Philologus* 32 (1873) 1-91, or Mattingly 1930. On the early development of the tribunician power see now, W.K. Lacey, "Summi fastigii vocabulum: The Story of a Title" *JRS* 69 (1979) 28-34.

⁸⁷ The most complete studies of the tribunician power in the third century are, Schulz 1919, 220-47 and Mattingly 1930. Kramer & Jones 1943 complements Mattingly. There are, however, numerous problems of interpretation of the documents in all of these. For Diocletian's renewal date: Barnes 1982, 25-6; Kolb 1987, 26.

⁸⁸ See Dio 53.17.10-1. R.P. Hock, "Dio 53.17.10 and the Tribunician Day during the Reign of Septimius Severus" *SO* 59 (1984) 115-9 now argues that this passage cannot prove the 10 December date of renewal for Severus, and inclines me to accept renewal on 1 January for him.

⁸⁹ Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 16-7 takes a similar position.

The Consulate -- The consulates of this period are, on the whole, well attested, and easily accessible.⁹⁰ At several points in the period here discussed, however, various documents attribute more consulates to an emperor than do the preserved fasti. In such cases we might suppose one of three explanations: a) the document(s) in question attributes the extra consulate by mistake; b) the extra iteration represents an otherwise unattested suffect consulate; c) the extra iteration represents the calculation of *ornamenta consularia* held by the emperor at some earlier point. Mistakenly dated documents must be judged individually. But what is the general probability of the other two explanations?

It seems to me unlikely that *ornamenta* should have been the cause of consulates not attested by the fasti. Prior to the early third century, the award of *ornamenta* never counted as official tenure of the consulate.⁹¹ Dio (46.46.4) reports that Septimius Severus granted the praetorian prefect Plautianus the *ornamenta consularia*, and that later, when Plautianus got his first ordinary consulate, Severus called it his second due to the earlier honor. Dio then says that this happened afterwards -- καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέπων τὸ αὐτὸν ἔγενετο. We have indeed several examples of such reckoning in the years immediately following: Q. Maecius Laetus (cos. ord. 215); T. Messius Extricatus (cos. ord. 217); M. Oclatinius Adventus (cos. ord. 218); the emperor Macrinus (cos. ord. 218); P. Valerius Comazon (cos. ord. 220).⁹² Yet, it is now also clear that Alexander Severus reformed the procedure of honoring praetorian prefects at least. Instead of granting them the *ornamenta consularia*, he brought these men into the senate via *adlectio inter consulares*, or by giving them a suffect consulate.⁹³ Indeed, the evidence for *ornamenta* falls off drastically during the mid-third century.⁹⁴ Moreover, where provincial documents especially, but not (say) coins from imperial mints, know of an otherwise unattested second consulate, it seems hardly likely that earlier *ornamenta consularia* should come in question.

⁹⁰ Cf. Barnes 1982, 91-2 on reconstructing lists of consuls. Also Bagnall et al. 1987, 47-87 on the various sources for the consuls and consular datings.

⁹¹ Talbert 1984, 367.

⁹² See Degrassi 1952, 60-1 and Rémy 1976/77, 170 ff. See also respectively: Barbieri 1952, no. 341 and *PIR*² M 54; Barbieri 1952, no. 372 and *PIR*² ■ 518; Barbieri 1952, no. 1117 and *PIR*² O 9; Barbieri 1952, no. 1120 and *PIR*² O 108; Barbieri 1952, no. 1174. Note as well Barnes 1984, 249-50, and Paul M. M. Leuissen, *Konsulin und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n. Chr.)* (Amsterdam 1989) 66-8 and 397-8.

⁹³ Chastagnol 1970, 39-52 and Rémy 1976/77, 172-3.

⁹⁴ Rémy 1976/77, 173-6. Note also Kuhoff 1979, 34 with n. 57.

Suffect consulates are also troublesome in this regard. By the mid to late third century, the prestige of this honor was on the decline, and it would appear that suffect consulates frequently were left out of both senatorial cursus inscriptions and the fasti.⁹⁵ It is, of course, conceivable that an emperor might have wished an earlier suffect consulate to be remembered, or that such was recorded in an attempt to honor him. Still, given the trend clearly demonstrated by Pflaum and Chastagnol, we should probably be wary of any such explanation as well. Indeed, mistakes may often prove to be the most satisfactory interpretation of too many consular iterations in our documentation.

Imperator Acclamations -- Although acclamations as *imperator* could be renewed on a regular basis, in our period they seem usually to have corresponded to actual events.⁹⁶ In such cases, the army would first proclaim an emperor *imperator*, and this would then be reported in Rome. It may be that the senate was responsible for voting such acclamations official; however, this cannot be proved.⁹⁷ These acclamations can sometimes be associated with victories and victory titles, but we are nonetheless dependent upon their mention in dated documents for establishing their chronology.⁹⁸

Victory Titles -- Senatorial sanction was required to make a victory title official, and the system for accomplishing this has already been mentioned.⁹⁹ It should also be made clear from the outset, however, that the documents frequently produce victory titles that were

⁹⁵ On the decline of the suffect consulate: W. Eck and H. Wolff, "Ein Auxiliardiplom aus dem Jahre 203 n. Chr." in *etidem* (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (Cologne 1986) 561 ff. and Bagnall et al. 1987, 2-4. On the deletion of suffect consulates: H.-G. Pflaum, "La fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie (259-260 à 274-275) d'après des inscriptions récemment découvertes" *Syria* 29 (1952) 326-30; A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960) 398 ff.; idem, "Observations sur le consulat suffect et la préture du Bas-Empire" *RH* 219 (1958) 222-3 = *L'Italie ■ l'Afrique au Bas-Empire. Scripta Varia* (Lille 1987) 84-5. Note also Barnes 1982, 91.

⁹⁶ See the excellent study by Loriot 1981. He there demonstrates that Alexander Severus was proclaimed annually *imperator*, whereas Maximinus Thrax, Gordian III and Trajan Decius all received such acclamations in relation to specific events. It is to be noted as well that these acclamations became less and less popular during the course of the century. See Loriot 1981, 234-5 for a tentative explanation of this.

⁹⁷ Cf. Hammond 1959, 77-8, Kneissl 1969, 182 and Talbert 1984, 363-4. Also Stylow 1974, 522.

⁹⁸ The papyri, unfortunately, are unanimous in not recording acclamations as *imperator*, which deprives us of what might have been a most useful chronological source.

⁹⁹ Above p. 2 and Kneissl 1969, 181-2.

not, in fact, held by the emperor.¹⁰⁰ In order, then, to sort official from non-official victory titles, a careful comparison of the types and values of the documents recording these must be made. Where such titles are attested by coins from (especially) the mint at Rome, military diplomas or a wide variety of documents from throughout the Empire, there is cause to believe the title to have been official. Otherwise, we may reasonably question whether it was officially taken, and thus its value as an indicator for chronology.

As regards the chronology of these titles, and thus of the events that occasioned them, little is to be had from the literary sources. We are again chiefly dependent on the documentary evidence. Where victory titles appear in documents that are securely datable, that is with specified consular and/or tribunician iterations, a fix can be had. And by combining such information with the testimony of the papyri it is possible to calculate with some accuracy the time at which a given victory title was assumed. There will have been, of course, a lag between the date of the event and the final official grant of the title by the senate.

3. Chronology of the Titulature

In what follows, an attempt will be made to derive a chronology of the above described elements of the imperial titulature during our period. This effort must be based on the more securely datable elements of the titulature, primarily tribunician and consular iterations. The procedure will be first to set out the precisely datable formulae (otherwise unspecified references throughout are to catalogue numbers), that is to say, those attested by documents which provide specific iteration numbers.¹⁰¹ With the evidence then clearly in view, we shall proceed to attempt dates for these elements of the titulature. Again, it is assumed throughout that the entire standard formula was adopted at the time of or shortly after the *dies imperii*.

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., Gostar 1975, Kacissl 1969, 97, 148 ff., 166-7 or Loriot 1981, 229. Cf. also T.D. Barnes, "Two Victory Titles of Constantius" *ZPE* 52 (1983) 229-35 and P. Brennan, "Diocletian and the Goths" *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 142-6.

¹⁰¹ Documents with, e.g., *tr. pot.* or *cos.* (with no specified iteration number) cannot be taken to imply the first tribunician iteration or consulate, and are thus by themselves of little use for chronology. On this, Stylian 1974, 515-7 and Buttrey 1980, 3.

Maximinus Thrax

<i>tr. pot. cos. des</i>	42-5
<i>tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II</i>	46
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II</i>	53
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	168
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	48-51, 167
<i>tr. pot. II cos. Germ.</i>	47, 164
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?)</i>	165
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?) Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	52
<i>tr. pot. II cos. Dac. Germ. Sarm. Parth. + Maxim. Dac.</i> <i>Germ. Sarm. Parth.</i>	166
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. III</i>	54, 169-72
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. III Dac. Germ. Sarm.</i>	173
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. III</i>	183
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	56, 174
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ.</i>	55, (154)
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	175
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Sarm. Dac.</i>	(40), 57, 176
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. Sarm.</i>	177, 180
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. imp. (?)</i>	182
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Parth. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	179
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. Germ. Dac. + Maxim. Germ. Dac.</i>	178
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I imp. II Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. Sarm.</i>	181
<i>cos. imp. IV Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	184
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. IV Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i> <i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	185
<i>tr. pot. III imp. V Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Sarm. Dac.</i>	186-7
<i>tr. pot. III (?) cos. imp. V (?)</i>	(153), 185a
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. V (?) Germ.</i>	188
<i>tr. pot. III (?) cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	58

<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	189-92
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. V Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	
<i>Sarm. Dac.</i>	193-6
<i>tr. pot. III imp. VI Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	
<i>Sarm. Dac.</i>	197
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. VI Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	198
<i>cos. imp. VI Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ. Sarm.</i>	199-200
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ.</i>	59
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	201
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	60
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	202
<i>tr. pot. IV (?) cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	203
<i>tr. pot. V cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	204-7
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i>	208
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. imp. III Germ.</i>	209
<i>tr. pot. cos. II.</i>	60a
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ.</i>	61
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	210-1
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV Germ. Sarm.</i>	212

Maximinus became consul for the first and only time on 1 January 236.¹⁰³ The expected tribunician iterations, with the consulate, are then thus.

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	ca. March - 9 December 235
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 235
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	1 January - 9 December 236
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	10 December 236 - 9 December 237
<i>tr. pot. IV cos.</i>	10 December 237 - ca. June 238

¹⁰³ Degrassi 1952, 65.

Several of the combinations listed above cannot fit this scheme. Of those the following are, with no doubt, mistakenly dated: *tr. pot. IX cos. imp. III*; *tr. pot. cos. II*; *tr. pot. cos. III*; *tr. pot. cos. IV*. Fifth and sixth tribunician iterations, which are also odd, but not quite so obviously impossible, are found only on milestones from Hispania, all erected *curante Q. Decio leg. Aug. Pr. Pr.*¹⁰⁴ It seems most likely that Decius (or his stonemason) was confused regarding Maximinus' tribunician iterations, since there is no likely scheme that would account for a fifth or sixth tribunician iteration.¹⁰⁵ The rest of the documents, however, would fit a plan of tribunician iteration either on 10 December or 1 January. Although there can be no certainty, I should prefer to assume iteration in December.¹⁰⁶

As for *imperator* acclamations, the combination *tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II* indicates that the first two acclamations should fall before 1 January 236. The first probably came upon Maximinus' accession in March 235, and the second was most likely achieved in fall of the year for the victory over the Alamanni.¹⁰⁷ The third acclamation is attested in combination with the second tribunician iteration, i.e. 10 December 235 - 9 December 236. It may be that this is to be associated with fighting against the Sarmatians and Dacians, possibly in the fall of 236.¹⁰⁸ The fourth acclamation is not known in any securely datable inscription, but must have come either during the second or early in the third tribunician iteration, i.e.

¹⁰⁴ The Decius here in question is the later emperor Trajan Decius. See Alföldy 1969, 56-9 and *idem, Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985* (Amsterdam 1987) 456-62.

¹⁰⁵ Townsend 1934, 83-4, in order to explain these tribunician iterations, suggested that Spain remained loyal to Maximinus as late as 240. This seems most unlikely. In order to account for *tr. pot. V*, Bersanetti 1965, 66 n. 4 offers tentatively the hypothesis that Maximinus took an extra tribunician iteration upon the death of the Gordians.

¹⁰⁶ As Styłow 1974, 517 notes, a renewal on Maximinus' *dies Imperii* is out of the question, while renewal on 1 January is at least possible. Indeed, the fact that there are documents with *tr. pot. cos. des.* and *tr. pot. II cos.* leads Styłow to wonder whether the January date is not preferable. So too Mattingly 1930, 86 and Ahram 1989, 25-6. However, we cannot be certain that a dating formula like the first intends the first tribunician iteration. Moreover, even if it does, a document with this formula could have been produced simply before the tribunician power was renewed on 10 December. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 72 also assumes December iteration.

¹⁰⁷ See Herod. 7.7.6-7 and *HA Maxim.* 12.4, with Styłow 1974, 518-22 and Okamura 1984, 195-203. Note, however, that one stone connects the second *imperator* acclamation with the third tribunician iteration (181). This is probably a mistake. See Styłow 1974, 518 n. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Styłow 1974, 522.

ca. 236/237.¹⁰⁹ The fifth acclamation is attested usually with *tr. pot. III* (10 December 236 - 9 December 237), but also once with *tr. pot. IV* (December 237 - June 238). The occasions of these last three acclamations are not clear.¹¹⁰ Sixth and seventh acclamations are also attested. The former would appear to have come during *tr. pot. III*, while the latter is known only with nonsensical tribunician dates (once possibly with *tr. pot. IV* - 203). Hence, a sixth acclamation during 237/8 may be possible, but a seventh seems dubious.¹¹¹

Rough termini for the victory titles are supplied by two military diplomas. The first (Roxan 1978, 77) has no victory titles and was issued on 7 January 236, while the second (*CIL* XVI 146) has all three of the attested titles (*Germanicus maximus*, *Dacicus maximus*, *Sarmaticus maximus*) and was issued on 7 January 237. The rest of our inscriptive evidence points to the title *Germanicus maximus* having been taken during the course of 236 -- it never appears without the consulate, but does appear alone with the second and third *imperator* acclamations. If the German wars were finally cleared up in the fall of 236,¹¹² it was probably not until near the end of that year that Maximinus had the title *Germanicus* officially from the senate. A date roughly late in 236 is also indicated by the papyri, which show *Germanicus* (alone) first in January/February 237.¹¹³ Furthermore, it seems to have been late summer in 236 when *VICTORIA GERMANICA* began to appear as a reverse legend, and shortly after that *MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM* became the obverse legend on the coins from Rome.¹¹⁴ We might guess that the senate approved the title by about November.

¹⁰⁹ Note that I have not included in my collection of documents *CIL* II 4693, which is very confused: *ful. Verus...Plus / C. pontifex ma/ximus...rcius ma/ximus Sarmaticus BROLEST fil. Imp. / IIII cos. p.p. pro/cos. pil. Verus ma/ximus nobilissimus / Caes. Germanicus / maximus .rcius ma/ximus Plus Imp. Cae/cis Aug. restiu/rent. Stylow 1974, 522 suggests that lines 3-6 might be read, *trjb. potest. III imp. III* etc., which would indicate (probably) 237 as the date of the fourth *imperator* acclamation.*

¹¹⁰ Bersanetti 1941, 10-1 connects these with the wars on the Danube; but Stylow 1974, 522 is probably correct in placing them earlier.

¹¹¹ Bersanetti 1941, 11-2 connects the sixth acclamation vaguely with a campaign on the Danube in 238, and the seventh with Capellianus' victory over Gordians I and II, also in 238. Stylow 1974 does not consider these last two acclamations.

¹¹² Stylow 1974, 321-2 and Alram 1989, 26-7.

¹¹³ *P. Ross. Georg.* V 19, 10 (9 February 237); *SB* I 5137, 8 (January/February 237).

¹¹⁴ *BMCRE* VI, pp. 87-95. Also Carson 1958, 191-3, *HCC* III p. lxxvii and Alram 1989, 27.

Sarmaticus and *Dacicus* are not so simple. We have seen one military diploma which bears these titles in January 237, and they are attested by other inscriptions in conjunction not only with the third but also the second tribunician power. The inscriptions then, point to late 236 for the grant of these two titles also.¹¹⁵ The papyri, however, first show the titles in Pauni (26 May/24 June) of 237.¹¹⁶ And while the three inscriptions that combine *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus* with *tr. pot. II* might be questioned,¹¹⁷ the military diploma is much to reject. For now we must probably suppose that these titles were granted to Maximinus late in 236 or just at the start of 237, but that the news was not transmitted to Egypt until spring of the year.

The epithet *Parthicus maximus* is attested by one stone from Lugdunensis (179), one from Hispania (204) and is restored to another from Italy (166). This title was hardly held officially.

Gordian III

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	75
<i>cos. I</i>	74, 199
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	76-89, 200, 222-3
<i>tr. pot. III</i>	92
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	90-1, 93-6, 224-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	201
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. II</i>	111
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. III</i>	228
<i>cos. II</i>	97-105, 202
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	106-8, 203, 229

¹¹⁵ Cf. Stylow 1974, 522-3.

¹¹⁶ *P. Lond.* 212b. *P. Oxy.* VIII 1114 is dated to 6 July, and *SB* I 5136 and *P. Grenf.* II 67 both date to Epeiph (June/July).

¹¹⁷ *CIL* III 3736, a milestone from Pannonia Inferior whose reading is not altogether secure, has the victory titles in a confused order, and only in the filiation of Maximus. *CIL* XI 1176 is almost entirely fragmentary, and also calls Maximinus and Maximus *Parthici maximini*, which brings into question here the titulature altogether. *IRT* 46 is almost entirely restored.

<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	109-10
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	112-5
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. III</i>	116
<i>tr. pot. V</i>	117
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	118-21, 230
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II imp. V</i>	122
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II imp. VI</i>	124
<i>tr. pot. VI (?) cos.</i>	125
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i>	126-7, 204
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II imp. IV</i>	231
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i>	128-9
<i>tr. pot. (?) cos. II imp. VI</i>	123
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. VII</i>	130
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	232

If Gordian's tribunician power was renewed on 10 December, then the consular and tribunician iterations should run as follows.¹¹⁸

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	ca. early August - 9 December 238
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 238
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 239
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 December 239 - 9 December 240
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 240
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 241
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	10 December 241 - 9 December 242
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i>	10 December 242 - 9 December 243
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i>	10 December 243 - February 244

Given this, the combination *tr. pot. III cos. II* is an impossible date; yet, this combination is solidly attested by coins from the Roman mint. Furthermore, the assumption that 1 January was the date of tribunician renewal creates the same problem, i.e. *tr. pot. III cos. II* is impossible. For this reason, Mattingly assumed that Gordian renewed his tribunician power on the date of his *dies imperii*.¹¹⁹ This would indeed solve the problem of *tr. pot. III cos. II*;

¹¹⁸ Degrassi 1952, 67 for the consulates.

¹¹⁹ Mattingly 1930, 86. Also RIC IV.3 pp. 2-3 with the earlier literature.

however, renewal on the *dies* would leave Gordian with only six tribunician iterations, whereas a seventh is attested, and this again by coins from Rome.¹²⁰ The only solution is to suppose some of our evidence mistaken. If the *tr. pot. III cos. II* combination is wrong, then the following documents must be discounted: 13 coins from the Roman mint and one inscription from Gallia Belgica.¹²¹ The assumption that *tr. pot. VII* is impossible excludes the following: four coins from Rome and two from Antioch, and possibly an inscription from Dalmatia.¹²² Given this quandary, I should prefer to suppose that Gordian maintained tradition and renewed his tribunician power on 10 December, and that some of the documents are simply dated mistakenly or in a misleading fashion.¹²³

Xavier Loriot has examined the *imperator* iterations, and concludes that these were awarded for specific victories rather than having been simply renewed annually. He proposes the following scheme.¹²⁴

<i>imperator II</i>	victory over the Persians, spring 239
<i>imperator III</i>	victory over the African usurper Sabinianus, 240
<i>imperator IV</i>	possibly for fighting near Hatra or with the Carpi, the dating is unclear because the inscription is improperly dated ¹²⁵
<i>imperator V</i>	campaigns of Timesitheus on the Danube, 241/242
<i>imperator VI</i>	as with <i>imperator V</i> , but during 242
<i>imperator VII</i>	victory over Shapur at Rhesaena, ca. spring 243

No victory titles are attested for Gordian, though a lacunose papyrus has led to the suggestion that he possibly took the titles *Parthicus* and *Adiabenicus* late in his reign.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ This dilemma is solved (RIC IV.2 p. 3) by simply assuming that Gordian lived into August 244 (also assumed is a *dies imperii* "about the end of July, A.D. 238"). Thus, the coins with *tr. pot. VII* would have been minted in August 244, just before Gordian died. But his death was not so late (above), hence this theory founders. See also the comments of G. Costa, *Diz. Epig.* III, 543-6, though he can offer no resolution.

¹²¹ RIC IV.3 236 (Antioch) is apparently a hybrid, the reverse belonging to Philip the Arab.

¹²² The tribunician iteration in AE (1935) 161 is partially restored (*tr. pot. V/II*), hence not reliable.

¹²³ Loriot 1981, 231-2 n. 29 agrees. He supposes that the documents with *tr. pot. III cos. II* were produced in anticipation of the second consulate. See also Okamura 1984, 451-9 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 74.

¹²⁴ Loriot 1981, 229-34. On Gordian's campaigns in the East, Keitzenhofen 1982, 19-37.

¹²⁵ Loriot 1981, 232.

¹²⁶ Rea 1989, 105.

Philippus Arabs

Philip Senior --	
<i>tr. pot. cos. I</i>	98
<i>tr. pot. cos. et cos. des.</i>	55
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	50
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	46-9, 51-3
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II (?)</i>	56
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	54, 57
<i>tr. pot. III</i>	99
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	58
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	59-61
<i>cos. III</i>	62-3
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	100
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	64-8
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV</i>	101
<i>tr. pot. VI cos.</i>	69-70
<i>tr. pot. XV cos. II</i>	71

Philip Junior --	
<i>cos. II</i>	122
<i>tr. pot. IV cos.</i>	123
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	124-5
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	126
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	152
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV</i>	153
<i>tr. pot. VI cos.</i>	127

Philip Senior and Junior --	
<i>tr. pot. cos. des. + Caes</i>	215
<i>tr. pot. cos. des. Pers. max. + Caes</i>	216
<i>tr. pot. II + Caes</i>	217
<i>tr. pot. II cos. + Caes</i>	218-21
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Caes</i>	223
<i>tr. pot. III cos. + Caes</i>	224-6

<i>cos. II + Caes</i>	222
<i>cos. II + Caes. cos</i>	227, 229, 231-2
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + Caes</i>	234
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + Caes. cos</i>	233
<i>cos. II + Aug</i>	228
<i>cos. II + Aug. cos</i>	230
<i>cos. des. III + Aug. cos. II des. cos</i>	238
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III des. + Aug. tr. pot. IV cos. des</i>	239
<i>cos. III + Aug. cos. II</i>	235-7, 240
<i>tr. pot. V (?) + tr. pot. II (?)</i>	242
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III + Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	241, 245
<i>tr. pot. V (?) cos. III + Aug. tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	243
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV + Aug. cos</i>	244

The consulates for Philip and his son are,¹²⁷

245 -- Philip *cos. I*

247 -- Philip *cos. II* and Philip Junior *cos. I*

248 -- Philip *cos. III* and Philip Junior *cos. II*.

Whether we assume tribunician iteration on 10 December or on 1 January, a number of the documents listed above do not fit.¹²⁸ For Philip the following combinations of tribunician power and consulates are on either scheme impossible: *tr. pot. II cos. II*; *tr. pot. III cos. II*; *tr. pot. XV cos. II*; *tr. pot. V cos. IV*. Clearly, documents with *tr. pot. XV* or *cos. IV* are not to be considered. The reading of *CIL* II 188 is extremely problematic, and can hardly be used as evidence.¹²⁹ *RIC* IV.3, 75 (58), an antoninianus minted at Antioch and

¹²⁷ Degrazi 1952, 68.

¹²⁸ Arguing for renewal on 1 January: *RIC* IV.3, 55-6; Loriot 1975b, 790. Mattingly 1930, 86-7 thought it impossible to decide between the two renewal dates. Iteration on Philip's *dies imperii* would allow for most of the documents, but would create havoc in interpreting *CIL* XVI 152 and 153, the most important documents for this question. Hence, it seems best to rule out this possibility. Nor is it even considered by Mattingly or Loriot.

¹²⁹ The stone was originally read with *tr. pot. cos. V*, but Hübner (cf. *CIL* ad loc.) suggested reading either *tr. pot. II cos.* as was Philip in 245, or *tr. pot. II cos. II*, as was (possibly, see below) Philip Junior in 248. Hübner prints the latter as his restoration.

with the reverse legend *tr. pot. III cos. II*, is unique and most unusual, hence suspect.¹³⁰ None of these documents can inspire any faith.

Although almost all of the other documents might allow renewal of the tribunician power on either 10 December or 1 January, there is some reason to believe that Philip renewed on 1 January. *CIL XVI* 152 gives for him *tr. pot. IV cos. III des.*, and is dated 28 December. *CIL XVI* 153 has *tr. pot. V cos. III*, and is dated 7 January. The two can be reconciled only if we assume that the former was produced at the end of 247, the latter in the first days of 248, and that Philip's tribunician power was renewed on 1 January.¹³¹ This may well be correct; however, it should be noted that the tribunician and consular iterations for Philip Junior in *CIL XVI* 152 are confused (see further below), which casts some doubt on the value of the document for dating altogether. Nor is tribunician renewal on 1 January universally accepted.¹³²

Philip Junior's tribunician powers are more perplexing. Several documents seem to show that his *tribunicia potestas* was reckoned equally with that of his father.

239 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. des.* (military diploma)

124-5 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. II* (coins from Rome and Antioch)

126, 243 -- *tr. pot. V cos. II* (coins from Rome, dedication from Sardinia)

127 -- *tr. pot. VI cos.* (coins from Antioch)

On the other hand, two documents indicate that Philip Junior's tribunician power was reckoned from his *dies Augusti*.¹³³

241 -- *tr. pot. II cos. II* (military diploma)

245 -- *tr. pot. II cos. II* (dedication from Cuicul)

¹³⁰ *RJC* cites the coin from Cohen (no. 129), who in turn claims that the coin is in the collection of the British Museum. It is not clear to me whether the coin really exists or not.

¹³¹ This is the generally accepted interpretation: Mattingly 1930, 86 n. 3; Loriot 1975b, 790; Armstrong 1986, 215.

¹³² Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 16-7 and 75 does not accept the 1 January renewal.

¹³³ A milestone from Cappadocia (242) may also call Philip Junior *tr. pot. II* and his father simultaneously *tr. pot. V*.

It is conceivable that those responsible in the mints somehow confused the titulature of father and son,¹³⁴ and dedications are always subject to mistaken dating formulas. However, we are still left with two military diplomas that give contradictory testimony as to how Philip Junior's tribunician power was reckoned.

The question of tribunician iteration for this reign, then, centers around the two military diplomas, *CIL XVI* 152 and 153. If both are dated properly for Philip, then he most likely renewed his tribunician power on 1 January. On the other hand, both cannot have the proper formula for Philip Junior unless there were two official systems of reckoning his tribunician power. This seems highly unlikely; thus, one of these diplomas must have a mistaken dating formula for Philip Junior. It seems more likely that his tribunician power was calculated from his *dies Augusti*,¹³⁵ which would mean that the mistaken document is *CIL XVI* 152. And if his father indeed renewed his *tribunicia potestas* on 1 January each year, then so too will have the son.

Both father and son seem to have had officially the victory titles *Germanicus maximus* and *Carpicus maximus*.¹³⁶ These titles are attested by a medallion (Gnechti II p. 97, 4), dated III ET II COS (i.e. post 1 January 248), and appear first in the papyri during June of 249 (*P. Oxy.* X 1276). The papyri along with the medallion seem to show that these titles were official. It would appear that the senate must have voted them sometime during 248 or early in 249.¹³⁷

A number of documents attest victory titles connected with a defeat of the Persians; however, none of these is likely to reflect an official grant of any such victory title.¹³⁸ It

¹³⁴ It may be worth noting that the reverse types of the coins with *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for Philip Junior are identical to reverse types minted for Philip. See *RJC* IV.3, 262, 262b as compared with 151b for Rome, and 232-4 compared with 75a-76a for Antioch.

¹³⁵ Mommsen (*CIL* X 8001 and *EE* IV p. 182) considered this to have been the case. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 75 calculates his tribunician power from 247, and with renewal on 10 December.

¹³⁶ The relevant evidence is papyrological -- 275-7. One inscription (87) attests *Germanicus*.

¹³⁷ See also *RJC* IV.3.66 with the reverse legend VICTORIA CARPICA (Rome, undated). Gostar 1975, 246-7 doubts that Philip officially had the title *Carpicus maximus*.

¹³⁸ The documents are: 36 (a milestone from Moesia Superior); 45 (a milestone from Pannonia Superior); 83 (a dedication by the city Trajanopolis in Thrace); 213 (two milestones from Pannonia Inferior); 216 (a dedication from Rome); 277 (*P. Harr.* 80,40 -- This papyrus does read Πορθύκοι rather than Κορηκοι, as confirmed by Dr. R. Coles, letter of 6.vi.83, but seems a scribal error.). See also the comments in *AE* (1975) ad num. 765 and of Loriot 1981, 234 and Rea 1989, 105.

must be that a number of people around the Empire simply assumed that the peace signed with Persia in the summer of 244 would result in a victory title.¹³⁹

Trajan Decius

<i>tr. pot. cos. I des.</i>	35
<i>tr. pot. cos. II des.</i>	36-7
<i>cos. II</i>	38-40, 43, 139 (?)
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	41-2, 44-6
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + Heren. and Hostil. Caess.</i>	156
<i>tr. pot. II + Heren. and Hostil. Caess.</i>	155
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	47-50
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Heren. Caes.</i>	137-8
<i>tr. pot. II cos. III des.</i>	59
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II des. III + Heren. cos. des. Caes.</i> + <i>Hostil. Caes.</i>	157
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II des. III + Heren. Caes. tr. pot. cos.</i> <i>des. + Hostil. Caes.</i>	158
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	51-2
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II imp. III</i>	53
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Heren. Caes. tr. pot. cos. des.</i>	140
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Heren. tr. pot. I cos. des.</i>	147
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Hostil. Caes.</i>	148
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	54-8
<i>cos. III + Heren. Aug. cos.</i>	141-2
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	60-1
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	62
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Dac. max. + Heren. cos. + Hostil.</i> <i>Caes.</i>	159-60

¹³⁹ Philip did celebrate the signing of this peace by issuing coins (at Antioch) with the reverse legend, PAX FVNDATA CVM PERSIS (RIC IV.3 69, 72). See also Kneissl 1969, 175-6, Halfmann 1986, 234-5 and Kettenhofen 1982, 36-7.

Chronology

<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. II Germ. max. + Heren. Caes.</i> + <i>Hostil. Caes.</i>	161
Herennius Etruscus -- <i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	102
Hostilianus -- <i>tr. pot. II</i>	126

The consulates for this reign are.¹⁴⁰

Decius *cos. II* -- 250
Decius *cos. III*, Herennius *cos. I* -- 251.

Tribunician iterations are extremely problematic. A number of documents attest a fourth iteration for Decius, which seems *prima facie* impossible given the short length of his reign.¹⁴¹ Either a 10 December or a 1 January iteration date will allow for three iterations, while a *dies imperii* iteration would imply only two tribunician powers for Decius. One way out is to assume that Decius took an extraordinary grant of tribunician power at some point; but this would be rather unusual, and produces its own problems anyhow.¹⁴² Instead of straining to account for a fourth iteration, it would seem preferable to presume the documents with *tr. pot. IV* mistaken, and then to concentrate on the remaining

¹⁴⁰ Degrassi 1952, 69.

¹⁴¹ Some of the documents in question actually have *tr. pot. procos. IIII cos. II* (54-5, 57-8). I have assumed this proconsular iteration to be confused, and that originally intended was a tribunician iteration number. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 6 leave this unexplained.

¹⁴² L. Fronza, "Studi sull'imperatore Decio: L'avvento Augusti" *AFLT* 21 (1951) 227-45 suggests that Decius took an extra tribunician iteration in May 251 in celebration of the grant of the title *nobilissimus Caesar* to Herennius Etruscus. Yet, it is now clear that Herennius was made *Caesar* ca. September 250 (above p. 32). Furthermore, I do not see how Fronza's hypothesis can account for the documents with *tr. pot. IV cos. II*. And even if we assume that Decius took this extra tribunician iteration during 250, which would explain (possibly) the fact that *cos. II* is combined with his second, third and fourth tribunician iterations, we would still have to discount *tr. pot. III cos. III*.

evidence.¹⁴³ With the troublesome fourth tribunician iteration set aside, the one remaining problematic combination is *tr. pot. III cos. II*. Assuming iteration on 10 December, this combination fits the brief period 10-31 December 250. If we opt for renewal on 1 January, it is an impossible combination. I should thus prefer 10 December.¹⁴⁴

There are two attested *imperator* acclamations for Decius: 161, with *imp. II*; and 53, with *imp. III*. The first is a milestone, whose dating formula has already been rejected as impossible; hence, this hardly seems a reliable document. *Imp. III* is restored to the second, thus also unreliable. There is hardly sense in any attempt to associate these with specific occasions, yet they may reflect vague knowledge of the campaigns in the Balkans in 250/51.¹⁴⁵

Two victory titles occur for Decius: *Dacicus maximus* and *Germanicus maximus*. The former appears on three Spanish milestones (138, 159-60), and on one from Pannonia Superior (152). The latter is preserved by one milestone from Africa (161). These titles appear neither in the papyri nor on the coins. Hence, it seems dubious that the senate voted officially any victory titles for Decius.¹⁴⁶

Inscriptions attest the tribunician power for both Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian. Indeed, both are attested, though dubiously, with even a second iteration of that power.¹⁴⁷ It is clear that Herennius received the *tribunicia potestas* sometime in the fall of 250 (probably before 10 December), since we have him as *tr. pot. I cos. des.* along with Decius

¹⁴³ The documents to be discounted are: six milestones from the road between Bracara and Asturica (*CIL* II 4809, 4812-3, 4833, 4835, 6219); two milestones from the road along the east coast of Spain, from Carthago Nova to the Pyrenees (*CIL* II 4957-8); one milestone from Africa (*AE* (1942-43) 55). Mattingly 1930, 87 is able to account for four tribunician iterations (on a 10 December system), but dates Decius' accession to 248, a year too early.

¹⁴⁴ Note also that the formula *tr. pot. III cos. II des. III* is given by an imperial rescript -- Reynolds 1982, no. 25.

¹⁴⁵ On these wars generally, Besnier 1937, 168-9 and Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 17-8. Also Halfmann 1986, 235-6. And on the *imperator* acclamations, Loriot 1981, 234.

¹⁴⁶ There are coins with the reverse legend VICTORIA GERMANICA: *RIC* IV.3 43 (Milan); 154 (Herennius Etruscus, Rome); 185 (Hostilian, Rome). We also have coins with, DACIA (*RIC* IV.3 2 ff.) and DACIA FELIX (*RIC* IV.3 14 ff.). Still, this is no proof that a victory title was taken officially. Gostar 1975, 645 also doubts the Spanish milestones and the title *Dacicus maximus*.

¹⁴⁷ The inscriptions here involved are problematic as to chronology. See 102 and 126 respectively. Note also 131 for Hostilian.

as *tr. pot. II* (and III) *cos. II des. III*.¹⁴⁸ Hostilian apparently received this honor later than his brother, though just how much later is not clear.¹⁴⁹

Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian

Gallus --

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	16
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	15, 42
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	17-20
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	21

Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	63-6
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	67, 88
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	68-9

Gallus and Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. II + Volus. Aug.</i>	135
<i>tr. pot. cos. II des. + tr. pot. cos. des</i>	123-4
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + Volus. Aug.</i>	125
<i>cos. II + mos.</i>	126, 129, 132-3
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos.</i>	127-8, 130-1
<i>tr. pot. II cos. + tr. pot. II cos.</i>	136-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. + tr. pot. III (?) cos.</i>	138
<i>cos. II + cos. II</i>	134
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos. II</i>	139-40
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	141

¹⁴⁸ Note that 147 is an imperial rescript, thus most likely accurate in its dating formula. The other evidence is not so good. 158 is much restored, as are the chronological elements for Decius in 140.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 77.

The consulates for these two are,

Gallus *cos. II* + Volusian *cos. I* -- 252

Gallus *cos. II* + Volusian *cos. II* -- 253.¹⁵⁰

If we assume renewal of the tribunician power on 10 December, then we get the following.

Gallus --

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i>	ca. June - 9 December 251
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	9 - 31 December 251
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 252
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	10 December 252 - July/August 253

Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	ca. July/August - 9 December 251
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 251
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 252
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 252
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	1 January - July/August 253

This scheme would mean, however, that all of the documents with *tr. pot. IV* are impossibly dated; and that would include a number of coins from the mint at Rome (21, 68-9).¹⁵¹ These coins have been interpreted thus.¹⁵²

"The date, *Tr. P. IIII Cos. II*, however, is relatively common in all metals, particularly for Volusian... There is no normal way of reckoning the tribunician power known to coins which will explain this date.

There is one suggestion, which, even if it has its own difficulties explains the facts and does not try to explain them away. Gallus, in allying himself to the family of Decius by accepting the surviving son as his colleague, was virtually adopting himself into his family. As

¹⁵⁰ Degrassi 1952, 69.

¹⁵¹ *Tr. pot. IV* is also attested by an inscription from Rome (141), and possibly by another from Hispania (20).

¹⁵² RIC IV.3, p. 152.

adopted son of Decius, he could use his father's reckoning, even as Philip II had used that of his father."¹⁵³

For the sake of the argument, let us assume that Trebonianus Gallus made Hostilian his *co-Augustus* (above), and that the tribunician power was reckoned as here suggested. Given this, there would then be two possible schemes of tribunician renewal.

Renewal on 10 December:

Gallus --	
<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i>	ca. September - 9 December 249
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	10 December 249 - 9 December 250
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 December 250 - 9 December 251
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i>	9 - 31 December 251
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	10 - 31 December 252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	1 January - ca. July/August 253

Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	ca. September - 9 December 249
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 December 249 - 9 December 250
<i>tr. pot. III</i>	10 December 250 - 9 December 251
<i>tr. pot. IV</i>	10 - 31 December 251
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	1 January - July/August 253

Renewal on 1 January:

Gallus --	
<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i>	ca. September - December 249
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	250
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	251
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	January - July/August 253

Volusian --	
tr. pot. I	ca. September - December 249
tr. pot. II	250
tr. pot. III	251
tr. pot. IV cos. I	252
tr. pot. V cos. II	January - July/August 253

Either of these schemes would allow the combination *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for Gallus, but there are still other problems. A coin of Gallus from the mint at Rome (*RIC* IV.3, 98) has the combination *tr. pot. II cos. II*. This fits neither scheme. The coin is, however, unique and its testimony should not be pressed.¹⁵³ The combination *tr. pot. II cos.* for Volusian is also impossible, though it is attested only by a few inscriptions which may not be reliable.¹⁵⁴ Finally, there is no evidence of a fifth tribunician iteration for either Gallus or Volusian. And although the systems of back-dating to the reign of Trajan Decius allow the *tr. pot. IV cos. II* combination for Gallus, they do not account for such coins of Volusian.

Indeed, there seem to be only two ways of explaining these latter. It may be that the reverses of Volusian with this legend are in fact reverses that were intended for Decius. Only a die study of the coins, however, could substantiate or rule out this possibility.¹⁵⁵ The only other method of accommodating this dating for both Gallus and Volusian is to posit yet another system of tribunician reckoning. If both dated their tribunician power from and renewed it on the anniversary of Decius' *dies imperii*, then we would have the following.

Gallos --	
tr. pot. I cos. I	September 249 - September 250
tr. pot. II cos. I	September 250 - September 251
tr. pot. III cos. I	September - December 251
tr. pot. III cos. II	January - September 252
tr. pot. IV cos. II	September 252 - July/August 253

¹⁵³ See the comments at *RIC* IV.3, p. 152.

¹⁵⁴ See 53-6, all dedications.

¹⁵⁵ It may be worth noting that the reverse types of Gallus and Volusian from Rome seem to be generally similar. See the descriptions in *RIC*.

Volusian --	
tr. pot. I	September 249 - September 250
tr. pot. II	September 250 - September 251
tr. pot. III	September - December 251
tr. pot. III cos. I	January - September 252
tr. pot. IV cos. I	September - December 252
tr. pot. IV cos. II	January - July/August 253

This scheme does account for *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for both Gallus and Volusian, and thus for the coins from Rome. However, *tr. pot. II cos. II* for Gallus and *tr. pot. II cos.* for Volusian still cannot be accommodated.

The two most likely solutions then are these. There may have been normal iteration of the tribunician power (10 December), in which case we should have to assume that the mint officials in Rome managed somehow to miscalculate the tribunician reckoning of these emperors, and to grant them mistakenly a fourth iteration. The other possibility, which would absolve the Roman mint officials of such an error, must presume tribunician iteration on the date of the *dies imperii* of Trajan Decius. I can see no method of reaching a satisfactory decision regarding these possibilities, and it may be best for the present to register a decision of non liquet.¹⁵⁶

Chronological trouble during this reign also appears in the Alexandrian coinage. For Decius we have the expected years A and B, but for Gallus and Volusian there are only coins dated to year I. It has been suggested that year three of Gallus and Volusian was equivalent to what would have been year three for Decius (i.e. 251/52). This would in turn indicate that they indeed reckoned chronologically from the reign of their predecessor, and that the revolt of Aemilian is to be placed in August/September of 252 rather than in the year following.¹⁵⁷ On the evidence of the coins alone this might be permissible. However, the papyri show year one of Gallus and Hostilian (*SB* VI 9235.1), year one of Gallus alone (*P. Oxy.* LI 3610.6 and 8), and years two and three of Gallus and Volusian.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, it is now abundantly clear that the reign of Aemilian fell in the late summer and early fall

¹⁵⁶ Mattingly 1930, 87-8, for example, assumed a double reckoning of Gallus' tribunician power -- first from his own accession, and secondly from the accession of Trajan Decius. This would, at least, accommodate all of the documents. One hesitates, however, to accept such a system of reckoning.

¹⁵⁷ Mattingly 1930, 88-91 and *idem* 1935, 55-8.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Bureth, pp. 116-7.

of 253 (above pp. 36-7). The Alexandrian coinage, then, should probably be interpreted as follows. Year A is lacking possibly because there simply was not enough time to get an issue out -- or maybe there was too much confusion with Decius dead, Hostilian alive as Gallus' co-emperor, and Volusian also (probably) associated as *Caesar*. The mint did not produce coins during year B for reasons that still are not clear.¹⁵⁹ Normal operations then resumed in year C (252/53).

It looks, then, as though there was some kind of back-dating to the reign of Trajan Decius. This, in turn, must have caused confusion. Precisely what happened, however, remains obscure, and we can, on the basis of the remaining documentation, only guess at the situation.

There are neither *imperator* acclamations nor victory titles attested for this reign.

Valerian I and family

Valerian --	
<i>Germ. max. III</i>	28-9
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	30
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	31-2
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	33-5
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	36-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	38-9
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II imp. V Germ. max.</i>	40
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	41
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	42-5
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	46
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.</i>	47
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	48-50
<i>tr. pot. ? cos. IV</i>	51
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i>	52-4
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i>	55
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV Germ. max.</i>	56

¹⁵⁹ Alföldi 1967, 348 suggests that financial troubles resulted in this lacuna in the Alexandrian coinage.

Gallienus --	
<i>Germ. max. III</i>	161
<i>Germ. max. V</i>	162-4
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	170-1
<i>cos. II</i>	167-8
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	166, 169, 172
<i>tr. pot. ? cos. II</i>	173
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	174
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II cos. III</i>	175
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	176-8
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	179-80
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.</i>	181
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	182-3
<i>cos. III</i>	184
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	185
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max.</i>	186
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	188-9
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	192
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.</i>	190-2
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III Dac. max. Germ. max.</i>	193
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	194
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II cos. III</i>	195
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Germ.</i>	196
<i>cos. III imp. VIII</i>	187
<i>tr. pot. VII cos.</i>	197-8, 200, 202
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. Germ.</i>	199, 201, 203
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III</i>	204
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. III</i>	205
<i>cos. IV</i>	206-7
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i>	208
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. IV</i>	209
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. IV Germ. max.</i>	210
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV</i>	211-2
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV cos. V</i>	213
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV</i>	214
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV Germ. max.</i>	215
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV des. V imp. X Germ.</i>	216

<i>cos. V</i>	217-8
<i>tr. pot. cos. V imp. VI</i>	219
<i>tr. pot. X cos. V</i>	219a
<i>tr. pot. X cos. V Parth. max. Germ.</i>	220
<i>tr. pot. XII cos. V</i>	221
<i>tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. Pers. max</i>	222
<i>tr. pot. XII cos. V imp. Germ. max. Dac. max. Pers. max</i>	223
<i>tr. pot. XII cos. VI</i>	224
<i>tr. pot. XII cos. VI</i>	226
<i>tr. pot. XIII (or XII) cos. VI imp. X Germ</i>	225
<i>tr. pot. XIII cos. VI imp. XII Germ. max</i>	227
<i>cos. VI des. VII</i>	228
<i>tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII</i>	231
<i>tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max</i>	292
<i>tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Parth. max</i>	229-30
<i>tr. pot. XV cos. VII</i>	232-4
<i>tr. pot. XVI</i>	235
<i>tr. pot. XVI cos. VII</i>	236-7
<i>tr. pot. XVI cos. VII imp. XV Germ. max</i>	238
<i>tr. pot. XVII</i>	239
<i>tr. pot. XVIII</i>	240
Valerian I and Gallienus --	
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + Aug</i>	373
<i>cos. II + cos</i>	370-1
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos</i>	372
<i>tr. pot. II + tr. pot</i>	374
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + tr. pot. cos</i>	375-6
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos. II</i>	377-8
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II + tr. pot. ? cos. ?</i>	379
<i>cos. III + cos. II</i>	380, 399
<i>Aug. + tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. II Germ. max</i>	400
<i>cos. IV + cos. III</i>	381
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. IV Germ. max. + Aug</i>	382
Valerian I, Gallienus and Valerian II --	
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max. + tr. pot. cos. III</i>	
<i>procos. IV Germ. max. + Caes</i>	413

<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. max. + tr. pot. IV</i>	414
<i>cos. III Germ. max. + Caes</i>	415
<i>tr. pot. ? cos. IV + tr. pot. ? cos. III + Caes</i>	415
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV imp. III + tr. pot. V</i>	416
<i>cos. III Germ. + Caes</i>	416
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV Germ. max. + tr. pot. VI</i>	432
<i>cos. III Germ. max. + Caes</i>	432
Valerian I, Gallienus and Saloninus --	
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. IV Germ. max. + tr. pot. VII</i>	436
<i>cos. III Germ. max. + Caes</i>	436

Valerian might conceivably have iterated his tribunician power on the anniversary of his *dies imperii*, on 10 December or 1 January annually, or possibly in August/September of each year.¹⁶⁰ Of the attested combinations of consular and tribunician iterations, the following are inconsistent with the respective iteration dates.

<i>dies imperii</i>	10 December	1 January	August/September
<i>t.p. III cos. II</i>			<i>t.p. III cos. II</i>
<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>
<i>t.p. V cos. III</i>			<i>t.p. V cos. III</i>
<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i> ¹⁶¹

Clearly, the least desirable iteration dates for Valerian's tribunician power are his *dies imperii* and 1 January. The other two possibilities share two inconsistent combinations. We have already noted (above n. 161) the problems with *tr. pot. IX cos. IV*. The combination *tr.*

¹⁶⁰ This last possibility has most recently been argued by Armstrong 1986.

¹⁶¹ The document with the ninth tribunician iteration is a dedication from Africa (56). If we place Valerian's capture in about June of 260, and if his ninth tribunician power were to begin in August/September, it is possible that the news of his capture had not yet reached Africa (or possibly there was still confusion as to the significance of his capture), and that this date is accurate on Armstrong's scheme. But see also König 1981, 22, who suggests *tr. pot. VII* for this stone.

pot. IV cos. IV also is recorded only by one inscription, a dedication from Numidia (382).¹⁶² Since these two combinations fit none of the possible schemes of tribunician and consular iteration, and since neither of the documents involved should be pressed as to accuracy, it would seem best to discard these two combinations as erroneous. This would mean that our available documentation for Valerian is consistent with either Armstrong's plan of tribunician iteration, or with iteration on 10 December. Before suggesting a choice, however, let us examine the evidence for Gallienus' tribunician iterations.

It seems safe to assume that documents with *tr. pot. XVII* or *tr. pot. XVIII* for Gallienus are simply mistakenly dated.¹⁶³ Of the other attested combinations for Gallienus, the following are inconsistent with the respective iteration dates.¹⁶⁴

<i>dies imperii</i>	10 December	1 January	August/September
<i>t.p. III cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>
	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i>
	<i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>
<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	
<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	
<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	
<i>t.p. XII cos. V</i>		<i>t.p. XII cos. V</i>	
<i>t.p. XIV cos. VI des. VII</i>		<i>t.p. XIV cos. VI des. VII</i>	

Here again, 1 January is obviously undesirable. Iteration on the *dies imperii* might seem possible, but would be first of all inconsistent with what appears to have been the case for Valerian, and secondly would require us to assume the documents with *tr. pot. XIV cos. VI*

¹⁶² Manni 1947, 118 suggests that instead of *tr. pot. III cos. III*, we should read on this stone *tr. pot. VII cos. III*.

¹⁶³ On the former, Armstrong 1986, 221-3 and Elks, *NC* 7.15 (1975) 102. On the latter, Manni 1947, 126.

¹⁶⁴ To be perfectly fair, it should be noted that several other combinations fit the 10 December date, but only barely:

tr. pot. V cos. II (10 - 31 December 256)

tr. pot. X cos. IV (10 - 31 December 262)

tr. pot. XII cos. V (10 - 31 December 263).

des. VII mistaken. This might be admissible, yet it would mean that an imperial rescript (292) was improperly dated, an unlikely notion. Once again, 10 December and August/September seem the most likely possibilities, and again we find that precisely the same documents fit neither scheme. However, acceptance of either of these schemes will require the rejection of some documents that seemingly should be trustworthy.

tr. pot. II cos. II - *RIC* V.1, 116 (Rome)

tr. pot. III cos. III - *RIC* V.1, 117 (Rome)

tr. pot. IV cos. III - *RIC* V.1, 119, 119a and *HCC* IV, 13 (Rome)

tr. pot. V cos. IV - *RIC* V.1, 6 (Lugdunum) and *RIC* V.1, 122 (Rome)

tr. pot. VII cos. IV - *RIC* V.1, 7-8 (Lugdunum) and *RIC* V.1, 152 (Rome)

All of these coins, however, derive from Cohen, none are pictured in *RIC*, and only one appears elsewhere (*HCC* IV, 13).¹⁶⁵ Thus, the testimony of these is dubious at best, and they should possibly be discounted as evidence for the chronology of Gallienus' reign.

It seems, then, that the documents leave us a choice of 10 December or August/September for the renewal of Valerian's and Gallienus' tribunician power. Given this, I should prefer the former. It would be more usual. Although it will not account for every document, it would appear best, for now, to accept regular iteration of the tribunician power on 10 December annually by Valerian and Gallienus.¹⁶⁶

It would appear that both Valerian and Gallienus had officially the victory title *Germanicus maximus*, taken for Gallienus' successes on the Rhine. Dating, however, is

¹⁶⁵ The coins are as follows in Cohen:

6 = Cohen 812 (Banduri)

7 = 152 = Cohen 831 and 832 (?) (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles and M. Derre respectively)

116 = Cohen 800 (Musée de Danemark)

117 = Cohen 802 (M. Rollin)

119 = Cohen 806 (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles)

119a = Cohen 805 (no authority cited)

122 = Cohen 813 (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles).

¹⁶⁶ It should be noted that Armstrong's argument for August/September centers around two basic assumptions: a) Philip renewed his tribunician power on 1 January rather than 10 December, and by doing so broke the tradition of renewal in December; b) Valerian and Gallienus dated their tribunician power from the death of Trebonianus Gallus (ca. June/July 253) and renewed it on the date of Gallus' *dies imperii* (supposedly mid-August). Philip may have renewed his *tribunicia potestas* on 1 January, but this is not absolutely clear from the available documentation (see above pp. 63 ff.). Nor, if he did renew on 1 January, does this prove that his practice will certainly have determined that of his successors. Backdating to the reign of Trebonianus Gallus is also problematic, and cannot be proved.

problematic. Valerian departed for the eastern front almost immediately after assuming the purple -- he seems to have arrived in Antioch in 254.¹⁶⁷ Gallienus, left in the West, meanwhile had his hands full. There was fighting on the Danube and Rhine frontiers, and then in northern Italy; but dating these wars is troublesome.¹⁶⁸ On the basis of archaeological (destruction of *castella* along the Rhine *limes*) and hoard evidence, it can be established that the Alamanni began to attack there in 254.¹⁶⁹ It seems agreed, however, that Gallienus did not leave the Danube for the Rhine frontier until late in 256 or early in 257. The German victory, then, is generally dated to 257.¹⁷⁰ However, the victory title *Germanicus maximus* appears in the papyri for Valerian and Gallienus already in the summer of 255.¹⁷¹ A number of other documents, if we can trust the dating of these, show the title also in 254/55.¹⁷² It would appear, then, that people around the Empire knew at least of problems on the Rhine by 254/55. That Gallienus himself had actually begun to fight there, or that the senate had already voted him the title *Germanicus maximus* both seem unlikely given the present interpretation of his movements in these years. Still, given the poor information provided by our sources,¹⁷³ it might just be conceivable that Gallienus went north more quickly than is usually assumed. Hence, a date of ca. 255/57 for the grant of this title might be suggested.

¹⁶⁷ Pekáry 1962, 124-5; Baldus 1971, 261; Halfmann 1986, 236.

¹⁶⁸ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33.1, Eutrop. 9.7 and Zos. 1.30.2 ff. tell of fighting, but give no information as to chronology. On these wars: Christol 1975, 814-5; Halfmann 1986, 237; Drinkwater 1987, 103 ff.

¹⁶⁹ Demougeot 1969, 484-8. See also de Blois 1976, 6.

¹⁷⁰ Demougeot 1969, 443-4 and 491-3; Christol 1975, 814-5. Note also Halfmann 1986, 237. The dating of the campaign to 257 depends largely upon the fact that minting operations were moved from Viminacium to Cologne in 257.

¹⁷¹ *CPR* 1.176 (29 June 255) and *P. Oxy.* X 1277 (9 August 255). R. Coles has kindly confirmed for me the reading of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (letter of 6.vi.83).

¹⁷² 40, Valerian *tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.* (10/31 December 254); 47, Valerian *tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.* (10 December 255/9 December 256); 178, Gallienus *tr. pot. III cos. Germ. max.* (10 December 254/9 December 255); 181, Gallienus *tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.* (1 January/9 December 255); 400, Gallienus *tr. pot. IV cos. II Germ. max.* (10/31 December 255).

¹⁷³ The most detailed account is that of Zos. 1.30.2 ff., but this too leaves much to be desired. Cf. the comments of Paschoud 1971, ad loc.

It has been argued that Gallienus received the title *Dacicus maximus* in 257.¹⁷⁴ However, it seems unlikely that Gallienus should have received a victory title that was not accorded Valerian.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the documents that attest *Dacicus* are unreliable.¹⁷⁶ It seems most likely that these instances of the title represent knowledge of the fighting along the lower Danube, and that some folk simply assumed the title would be granted.¹⁷⁷ It seems unlikely that the senate ever voted such a victory title.

Two other victory titles appear: *Parthicus maximus* and *Persicus maximus*. The first is attested by inscriptions from 262 and 265.¹⁷⁸ One papyrus may also have *Parthicus*.¹⁷⁹ There are a few coins with the legend VICTORIA PARTHICA, but none with the victory title.¹⁸⁰ It seems unlikely that Gallienus held the victory title *Parthicus maximus*. Rather, it appears to have been used as a synonym for *Persicus maximus*. This title is attested rather widely in the papyri, appearing first in September of 266.¹⁸¹ Inscriptional evidence, on the

¹⁷⁴ Maani 1947, 138 and Maani 1949, 20-31. Also Alföldi 1967, 360.

¹⁷⁵ There is no good explanation of such an action. It might be possible that already Gallienus wished to assert his independence from Valerian. Certainly after his capture by the Persians, Gallienus attempted to distance himself from the shamed Valerian; but that, of course, would come later. Cf. de Blois 1976, 24 ff. on the relationship of Valerian and Gallienus.

¹⁷⁶ 160 is highly restored, and cannot be dated. 193 has, as published, *tr. pot. IV cos. III* for Gallienus. The date is impossible, and Christol 1975, 817 has suggested reading *tr. pot. VII* rather than *III*. 223 has *tr. pot. XII cos. V*, which places it in December of 263. Thus, the dating of any possible grant of this title is virtually impossible. Nor can any of these documents (all dedications) demonstrate that the title was held officially. It is also worth noting that the coinage nowhere shows a trace of a *victoria Dacica*. Gostar 1975, 645-6 does not accept this victory title for Gallienus. Nor can the known movements of Gallienus shed any light on a possible campaign in Dacia. See Halfmann 1986, 237-8.

¹⁷⁷ On the wars in the Balkans at this time, Gaggero 1973, 49-51.

¹⁷⁸ 220, Gallienus *tr. pot. X cos. V Parth. max. Germ. max.* (1 January/9 December 262); 229, Gallienus *tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Parth. max.* (December 265). See also 149 and 150, where the victory titles are restored.

¹⁷⁹ *P. Oxy.* XII 1475.36 has Γερμανικοῦ μεγ[ιστ]ου Περθικοῦ μεγίστου for Gallienus. This is odd since the rest of the papyri attest *Persicus*. Indeed, R. Coles informs me (letter of 6.vi.83) that *Περθικοῦ* might be the proper reading. See also J.R. Rea, *P. Coll. Youbie* 468.

¹⁸⁰ Valerian -- *R/C* V.1.291 (Antioch). Gallienus -- *R/C* V.1.453 (Asia ?), 309-10 (Rome). Cf. Keitzenhofen 1982, 81-2.

¹⁸¹ The earliest papyrus is *P. Coll. Youbie* 68 (8 September 266 ?). The latest papyrus of Gallienus without the title is *P. Ryl.* II 165 (28 March 266).

other hand, attests the title as early as 263.¹⁸² If we must choose between a number of papyri that are consistent and three inscriptions, neither from Rome nor of an official nature, the former must surely be the better choice. This victory title seems most obviously connected with the wars waged for Gallienus by Odenathus and completed in 264.¹⁸³ However, the gap between the peace of 264 and the vote of the title in (probably) 266/67 is odd. It has even led to the suggestion that the title was taken as a result of the campaigns of Gallienus' general Heraclianus in the East during 266/67, though this is most unlikely.¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, we must here trust the papyri, and should probably place the grant of this title roughly in the period March/September 266. The hesitation in granting the title may have been caused by misgivings regarding the assumption of a victory title for wars completed by a client king.

For Valerian there are two attested acclamations as *imperator* – *tr. pot. III cos. II imp. V Germ. max.* (40, December 254), and (possibly) *tr. pot. V cos. IV imp. III* (416, January - 9 December 257). Clearly these two inscriptions contradict one another. The reading of the latter, however, is uncertain (cf. cat. ad loc.) and the former too has been called into question.¹⁸⁵ Acclamations as *imperator* for Gallienus are also most troublesome. We have the following.

400 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. II Germ. max.* (10 December 255/9 December 256)
 193 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III Dac. max. Germ. max.* (impossible date -- 257/60 ?)
 219 -- *tr. pot. cos. V imp. VI* (262/63)
 187 -- *cos. III imp. VIII* (255/56)
 216 -- *tr. pot. X cos. IV des. V imp. X Germ.* (December 261)

¹⁸² 222, *tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. Pers. max.* (December 263); 223, *tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. max. Dac. max. Pers. max.* (December 263). Note also 230, *tr. pot. XIV (?) cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Pers. max.* (10-31 December 265). On these see also Rea, *P. Coll. Youthe* 467-8.

¹⁸³ See de Blois 1975, 7-12.

¹⁸⁴ Manni 1949, 40-1. This conjecture is based on *HA Gall.* 13.1-5. According to the *HA* author, Zenobia took control after Odenathus' death, and began to rule not like a woman, but even better than Gallienus and many other emperors. Meanwhile, Gallienus had determined on an offensive against the Persians, and dispatched to this purpose Heraclianus. The general was defeated by the Palmyrenes before even meeting the Persians. If this is true, it hardly seems the proper inspiration for a victory title. Alföldi 1967, 356 is also dubious of an open break with Palmyra at this point, thus calling the whole passage into question. Again suspicious of the *HA* here is Borsanetti 1942, 172. Also on Heraclianus: *JGBulg* III.2, 1568; Syme 1971, 210; de Blois 1976, 3.

¹⁸⁵ Manni 1947, 130 n. 1.

225 -- *tr. pot. XIII (?) cos. VI imp. X Germ.* (10 December 264/9 December 265)
 227 -- *tr. pot. XIII cos. VI imp. XII Germ. max.* (10 December 264/9 December 265)
 238 -- *tr. pot. XVI cos. VII imp. XV* (10 December 267/September 268)

The evidence is clearly, at first glance, discordant, and there have been two valiant efforts at making sense of it. Alföldi suggested that there were several acclamations initially, but that when Valerian was captured, Gallienus dissociated himself entirely from his embarrassing father. This resultantly entailed a new numbering of *imperator* acclamations. Alföldi's scheme can be presented thus.¹⁸⁶

Joint Reign	Gallienus alone	Date	Event Concerned
<i>imp. I</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. II</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. III</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. IV</i>	<i>imp. I</i>	257/58	Defeat of Alamanni, Milan
<i>imp. V</i>	<i>imp. II</i>	257/58	German victory, bipartition of the army
<i>imp. VI</i>	<i>imp. III</i>	260	Defeat of Ingenuus
<i>imp. VII</i>		260	Defeat of Regalianus
<i>imp. VIII</i>		261	Defeat of Macrianus

But there are immediate problems. First, the medallion with *cos. V imp. VI*. If the consular iteration is correct, then *imp. VI* must fall after 1 January 262. Alföldi argued that the consular iteration was wrong, and should have been *cos. IV*.¹⁸⁷ However, the argument proceeds to the results tabulated above, which would make the inscription with *cos. III imp. VIII* impossible. Nor does Alföldi account for the attested tenth, twelfth or fifteenth iterations; or why Gallienus should have returned to the old numbering system after having begun anew. And finally, if the new numbering system was consequent upon Valerian's

¹⁸⁶ Alföldi 1967, 73-119, 210-27 and 360 ff. The argument depends upon the assumption that the so-called *légionary* issues, with *pia fidelis* V, VI, or VII for various legions, were issued concurrently and equivalently with Gallienus' acclamations as *imperator*. I may note that I have had trouble determining the events and dates that belong with *imp. IV* = *imp. I* and *imp. V* = *imp. II*, because Alföldi changed his mind about this, but did not (so far as I can see) explain his new interpretation thoroughly. Note also that Fitz 1966, 21 dates the defeat of the Alamanni at Milan to late 259. See also Halfmann 1986, 237.

¹⁸⁷ Alföldi 1967, 220.

capture, then it should begin in 260, not prior to this. Alföldi's system will simply not account for the evidence as we have it.

The other attempt at reconciling the available documentation is Manni's.¹⁸⁸ The system that he proposes, however, is immensely complex, involving three different and simultaneous calculations of the chronological elements of the titulature. Moreover, there are documents known to Manni (e.g. *RIC* V.1 3, or *CIL* VIII 21559),¹⁸⁹ as well as another not known to him (*ADE* 12), that cannot (without emendation) be fitted into his scheme. Still, his system has two virtues. It is consistent with itself, and it accounts for most of the documents. Weighing against it, however, is the overly complex system itself, and the *a priori* assumption that Gallienus simply iterated his *imperator* acclamations annually.¹⁹⁰ Hence, this system too is ultimately unsatisfactory.

Both Alföldi and Manni realize that in order to save the documents, we should have to presume some sort of (at least) dual reckoning of Gallienus' *imperator* iterations. And both (sensibly) prefer to connect the change in reckoning with the break between Gallienus and Valerian. Yet, given all of the uncertainty involved (the accuracy of the documents, the actual fashion in which Valerian's and Gallienus' tribunician powers were reckoned, the paucity of documents with *imperator* iterations, the lack of any real knowledge of the wars fought by Gallienus in the West), I am not convinced that it is possible to date properly, or to connect these acclamations with actual victories. We are probably safe in assuming that there were as many as fifteen acclamations. Whether these were indeed iterated annually or taken instead for actual victories cannot be known.

Claudius II

<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II</i>	36
<i>tr. pot. imp. II Goth. (?) Germ. max</i>	35
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	42, 68
<i>tr. pot. II cos</i>	37-41, 69

¹⁸⁸ Manni 1947, 113-50 (esp. 137-45 and 147-50). It is not altogether clear to me from Manni's arguments whence the acclamations listed under "computo B."

¹⁸⁹ See Manni 1947, 125 and 129 for these documents and his suggestions regarding them.

¹⁹⁰ Manni 1947, esp. 130.

<i>tr. pot. II cos. Germ. max</i>	43
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	44-5
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	46-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos</i>	48
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ</i>	49
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	52
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Goth. max</i>	50, 53
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Goth. max. Parth. max</i>	51
<i>cos. III</i>	54-5

Since Claudius came to the purple in September 268 and died in August 270, we might expect the following tribunician iterations.

<i>tr. pot. I</i> -- September - 9 December 268	
<i>tr. pot. II</i> -- 10 December 268 - 9 December 269	
<i>tr. pot. III</i> -- 10 December 269 - August 270	

Three tribunician iterations are attested by the documents, hence there is no reason to doubt that they fell thus. The consulates, however, are troublesome.

The fasti with unanimity call Claudius *cos. I* in 269, and they do not mention a second consulate.¹⁹¹ A number of documents, however, attest a second or even a third consulate. In order to account for the appearance of this second consulate, it has been argued that Claudius, at some point before ascending the throne, held the *ornamenta consularia*, and that confusion over this led some to award him a second consulate.¹⁹² Given the facts, that the fasti have nothing regarding plural consulates, that it would be odd to find *ornamenta* counted (see above p. 52) and that all of the inscriptions attesting multiple consulates are either dedications or milestones, it would seem better to assume the documents simply mistakenly dated.¹⁹³

There are only two attestations of *imperator* iterations for Claudius (36 -- a dedication from Sardinia; and 35 -- a dedication from Hispania), both with *imp. II*. If these are

¹⁹¹ Degrazi 1952, 72.

¹⁹² Rea 1972b, 27-8.

¹⁹³ *PIR*² A 1626 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 82 assume the documents mistaken. Bagnall et al. 1987, s.v. 284 are doubtful of *ornamenta* being here in question, and suggest that Claudius took a *suffect* consulate during the last part of his first year as emperor. Cf. also Damerau 1934, 38-9.

correctly reflective of acclamations by the troops, we should probably link the second with Claudius' success against the Goths, and assume that the first was on the occasion of his initial proclamation. On the other hand, these inscriptions may simply be mistaken.

Several victory titles appear for Claudius. *Germanicus maximus* is attested by three inscriptions: a dedication by some soldiers in Narbonensis (43); a military dedication from Pannonia Inferior (49); a dedication from Hispania (55). Since this title appears neither on the coinage nor in the papyri, and since it is so rarely documented even by the inscriptions, it would seem reasonable to conclude that it was not officially granted.¹⁹⁴ It may be reflective of the victory over the Alamanni in 268, or possibly even of Claudius' success against the Goths.¹⁹⁵ The title *Parthicus maximus* is also known (51); however, it cannot be linked with confidence to any campaign, and should not be taken as an official title.¹⁹⁶

Close inspection of the evidence for the title *Gothicus maximus* reveals some interesting facts. First of all, the papyri do not know the title for Claudius. Secondly, it appears only posthumously on the coins.¹⁹⁷ Finally, the documents that do attest the title while Claudius lived are all troublesome.

35 -- *Gothicus* appears in a garbled and possibly mistaken way. See the note in the catalogue.

50 -- This stone is one of those that contains the mistaken dating formula *tr. pot. III cos. II*. Hence, the victory title may also be suspicious.

51 -- As the previous inscription.

53 -- As the previous two inscriptions. Also, Claudius' name must be restored, and it is possible that the stone really belongs to Probus.

Given this state of the evidence, it would appear that Claudius was not made *Gothicus* while he breathed. Although it would appear that he had fairly well completed his activities against the Goths by the time he died, it seems possible that the senate had not yet voted

¹⁹⁴ There are coins with VICTORIA GERMANICA -- *RIC* V.1 247-9 and *HCC* IV 86 (Ephesus or Cyzicus); however, these come from an eastern mint, and do not bear the actual victory title anyhow.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Damerau 1934, 53. Also Gaggero 1973, 71-101, and Hallmann 1986, 239.

¹⁹⁶ Damerau 1934, 61.

¹⁹⁷ There are *consecratio* issues from Rome and Milan with DIVO CLAVDIO GOTHICO, *RIC* V.1 263 and 264. The only other certain indication of a Gothic victory in the coinage are the Cyzicene (?) issues with the reverse legend, VICTORIAE GOTHIC, *RIC* V.1 251 and 252.

the title *Gothicus*.¹⁹⁸ He may well have expired in the course of mopping up the last remnants of the Gothic intruders, and the senate would have voted him god and *Gothicus* nearly concurrently.

Aurelian

<i>cos. Germ. max. II</i>	104
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	105
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Parth. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Carp. max.</i>	106
<i>cos. II</i>	103
<i>tr. pot. cos. II (?)</i>	107
<i>tr. pot. cos. II Germ. max. Goth. max.</i>	108
<i>tr. pot. cos. II Parth. max.</i>	108a
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max. Goth max.</i>	109
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	110-2
<i>tr. pot. V (?) cos. II Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. (?)</i>	113
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i>	114
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i>	115
<i>cos. II des. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Carp. max.</i>	116
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III Goth. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. Carp. max.</i>	117
<i>cos. III</i>	119, 121
<i>cos. III Germ. max. Carp. max.</i>	118
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	120
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III procos. III Arab. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	122
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max.</i>	124
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. max.</i>	125
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Goth. max. Palmyr. max. Germ. max.</i>	126

¹⁹⁸ For the fighting complete, *HA Claud.* 12.2. See also Damerau 1934, 73-5.

<i>tr. pot. V cos. III imp. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	
<i>Pers. max.</i>	127
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i>	128-30
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III Parth. max.</i>	131
<i>tr. pot. VI (?) cos. III (?) Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	
<i>Parth. max.</i>	132
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III imp. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max.</i>	
<i>Dac. max. Carp. max.</i>	133
<i>cos. III (?) imp. V (?) Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	123

Aurelian was *cos. I* in 271, *cos. II* in 274 and *cos. III* in 275.¹⁹⁹ There seems to be a general consensus that the tribunician power was renewed on 10 December.²⁰⁰ Yet, there is an attested seventh iteration, which would not fit any normal scheme of iteration. Furthermore, the attested combinations of consular and tribunician iterations create problems regarding the consulates.²⁰¹ In order to account for the documents, Rea has supposed first that Aurelian took an extra tribunician power during 274 (either for his defeats of Zenobia and Tetricus, or in celebration of his *quinquennalia*), and secondly that at some point he had received the *ornamenta consularia*, which resulted in a double reckoning of his consulates.²⁰² I reproduce Rea's table summarizing his conclusions.

¹⁹⁹ Degrassi 1952, 72-3.

²⁰⁰ Homo 1904, 340; Sotgiu 1961, 11 ff.; Rea 1972b, 28; Sotgiu 1975, 1044; Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 83. Kramer & Jones 1943, 83-6 conclude that Aurelian iterated his tribunician power on his *dies imperii*, and Bivona 1966, 106-19 assumes that Aurelian began to re-number it after the defeat of Zenobia in 272. Neither of these notions is acceptable.

²⁰¹ *HA Aurelian*, 11.8 has Valerian promise Aurelian the (suffect) consulate along with Ulpian Crinitus in 258. The passage is, however, an obvious invention of the *HA* author. See Merten et al. 1985, ad loc.

²⁰² Rea 1972b, 26-30. Note, though, that some of the documents used by Rea are not reliable. *CIL VIII* 9040 belongs to Gallienus, not Aurelian. See Delninger 1970. *CIL XII* 5511 reads, —*m/ax. Gothico max. / —/ trib. pot. III cos. II* [---] / *p. p.* The stone could belong to Claudio II, Aurelian or Probus. *CIL XII* 5548 is problematic. See the note in the catalogue (123). Cohen 177 has as its authority Mionnet. The coin is not to be trusted.

	tr. pot.	consul (a)	consul (b)
August 270	1	0	1
December 270	2	0	1
January 271	2	1	2
December 271	3	1	2
December 272	4	1	2
December 273	5	1	2
January 274	5	2	3
7 274	6	2	3
December 274	7	2	3
January 275	7	3	4

Yet even this cumbersome system will not account for all of the documents. The combinations *tr. pot. III cos. III* and *tr. pot. IV cos. III* still do not fit.²⁰³ It seems that whatever scheme of iteration we assume, we shall have to admit that there are mistakenly dated documents.²⁰⁴

Let us then consider the possibility of regular iterations for both consular and tribunician powers.

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	August - 9 December 270
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 270
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 271
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 December 271 - 9 December 272
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i>	10 December 272 - 9 December 273
<i>tr. pot. V cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 273
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 274
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i>	10 - 31 December 274
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i>	1 January - ca. December 275

²⁰³ The documents in question are respectively: a dedication by the *ordo* of Barcelona (122); a milestone from Narbonensis (124); one coin supposedly minted at Rome (Cohen 177 -- see above n. 202).

²⁰⁴ Note the cautious comments of Price 1973, 84, "Even this (Rea's theory) does not fit every quoted inscription, and one may be permitted to suspect that wild and ill-conceived dates may be found on provincial milestones, etc., and even on coins from provincial mints, due solely to the ignorance of the personnel concerned."

The first problem with this scheme is the seventh tribunician iteration, preserved on a milestone from Lugdunensis (133) and by coins from Rome and (possibly) Siscia (115).²⁰⁵ The stone might easily have a mistaken dating formula, but one is somewhat loath to reject especially the Roman coins. Six other inscriptions also have dating formulas that will not fit.

- 117 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. V cos. II des. III*
- 122 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. III cos. III*
- 124 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. IV cos. III*
- 125 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*
- 126 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*
- 127 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*

Of these, 122 fits neither Rea's scheme nor that suggested here. It is probably best simply to assume this stone mistakenly dated. In order to account for the additional five inscriptions that would still be mistaken, we should have to suppose *ornamenta* or a suffect consulate at some point. For reasons already given (above p. 52), the former seems unlikely. Nor is it possible to add at one point a suffect with the result that all of the attested dating formulas work. Hence, though there can be no certainty, it seems preferable to trust the *fasti*, and resultantly to assume that several of our documents present mistakenly combined tribunician and consular iterations.²⁰⁶

The coins from Rome with *tr. pot. VII* are still, however, perplexing. It is possible to accommodate them by suggesting an extra tribunician iteration, though this would be indeed unusual.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, if Aurelian lived as long as early December 275, it is conceivable that the mint at Rome had produced coins in anticipation of the renewed tribunician power. These then, may already have gone into circulation when the news of Aurelian's death arrived. Still, it seems hardly possible to reconcile this combination (*tr. pot. VII cos. II*) in any way with the combination *tr. pot. VI cos. III*. It may be that the stones

²⁰⁵ We can trust that the Roman mint produced this legend because of its appearance in *HCC*. The coin from Siscia (*RIC* V.1 186 = Cohen 179), however, is odd. Cohen reports the reverse legend as, P ■ TB P VII COS II P, but then in a note claims that Mioujet read, PROVIDENTIA DEOR. He also says, in the note, that the letters SXXT appear in the exergue. This is all rather puzzling, and leads one to suspect the coin.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 83.

²⁰⁷ Rea 1972b, 27 bolsters his argument for this by supposing that both Maximinus Thrax and Trajan Decius also took additional tribunician iterations. This is, however, unlikely. See above pp. 57 and 67 respectively.

attesting the latter are simply mistaken. In sum, though, there is no absolutely clear answer as to how Aurelian calculated his tribunician power.

We have the following *imperator* acclamations.

- 117 -- *tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III*
- 123 -- *imp. V cos. III (?)*
- 127 -- *tr. pot. V imp. cos. III*
- 133 -- *tr. pot. VII cos. III imp.*

It seems likely that Aurelian was acclaimed *imperator*, but how many times, exactly when and why cannot be determined.

There are quite a few victory titles attested for Aurelian.²⁰⁸

- Adiabenicus* -- HA Aurelian. 30.5
- Arabicus maximus* -- 94, 122
- Armenicus (sic)* -- HA Aurelian. 30.5
- Britannicus maximus* -- 102
- Carpicus maximus* -- 101, 106, 116-8, 122-3, 127, 132-3, 148-9
- Dacicus maximus* -- 133
- Germanicus maximus* -- 17, 73, 80, 93, 100-2, 104, 106, 108-9, 113, 116-8, 123-7 132-3, 149, 151
- Gothicus maximus* -- 17, 91, 101-2, 108-9, 113, 116-7, 122-4, 126-7, 132-3, 146-9, 151
- Palmyrenicus maximus* -- 126
- Parthicus maximus* -- 80, 106, 113, 116-7, 124, 131-3
- Persicus maximus* -- 94, 101, 127, 149
- Sarmaticus maximus* -- 102

Of the documents that attest these, the papyri are likely best to represent the officially held titles.²⁰⁹ To be found there are: *Carpicus maximus*, *Germanicus maximus*, *Gothicus*

²⁰⁸ There is now an excellent study of Aurelian's victory titles, which obviates a fuller discussion here -- Kettenhofen 1986.

²⁰⁹ The coins are of little help. We have one coin with *VICTORIA PARTICA* (*RIC* V.1 240, Siscia), another with *VICTORIA GERM* (*RIC* V.1 355, Cyzicus) and one more with *VICTORIA GOTHIC* (*RIC* V.1 339, Cyzicus).

maximus, Persicus maximus.²¹⁰ These must be the official victory titles, and were probably assumed as follows.²¹¹

Germanicus maximus -- 270/71, victory over the Germani Iuthungi
Gothicus maximus -- late 271, victory over the Goths at Cannabas
Carpicus maximus -- 272, victory over the Carpi on the Danube
Persicus maximus -- 272, victory over the Palmyrenes²¹²

Tacitus

<i>tr. pot. procos. IV</i>	42
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	43 (7), 45
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	44, 46-8
<i>tr. pot. cas. des. II</i>	49
<i>tr. pot. cas. II</i>	50-2
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	53
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II Goth. max.</i>	54
<i>cos. III</i>	55-6

Tacitus' tribunician power, given the available documents, can have been iterated either on 10 December or 1 January. The former is more likely, particularly if his *dies imperii* fell early in the fall, but this cannot be certainly determined. Again, because it had been traditional, and because there is no solid evidence to the contrary, I should prefer iteration on 10 December.²¹³

²¹⁰ A highly restored papyrus (*P. Lips.* 119) may attest *Britannicus maximus*. König 1974, 51-6 discusses the title and the papyrus. He concludes that the title was not official, but that it relates to Britain's having decided to rejoin the central Empire (as opposed to the Gallic) in 271. See also Kettenhofen 1986, 140-1.

²¹¹ See Sotgiu 1961, 17 ff. and eadom, "Aureliano (1960-1972)" *ANRW* II.2 (Berlin & New York) 1042-3. Gostar 1975, 646 and 647 assumes respectively that *Dacieus maximus* was not official, but that *Carpicus maximus* was.

²¹² See also Kettenhofen 1986, 144.

²¹³ Cf. Kramer & Jones 1943, 83; Jones 1939, 368 and Schüllinger-Häfele 1986, 84.

Tacitus was *cos. I* in 273 and *cos. II* in 276.²¹⁴ Two coins produced by the mint at Ticinum, however, record a third consulate. Degrassi suggested that Tacitus took a *suffect* consulate late in 275, while Rea would opt again for *ornamenta consularia*.²¹⁵ The last seems the least likely; nor is there any certainty given the choice between a mistake by the die-cutters at Ticinum and a possible *suffect* consulate.

A milestone from Narbonensis (54) produces the victory title *Gothicus maximus*. It seems indeed clear that Tacitus won a victory over the Goths in Asia Minor.²¹⁶ However, neither the papyri nor any other document record this title. It is not probable that Tacitus was officially *Gothicus maximus*.

Florian

A number of documents assign a consulate to Florian --

<i>tr. pot. cos.</i> -- 17 (dedication, Dalmatia)
<i>tr. pot. cos.</i> -- 20 (dedication, Baetica)
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> -- 21 (milestone, Numidia)

We are told by *HA* Tac. 9.6, on the other hand, that Tacitus petitioned the senate for a *suffect* consulate for Florian, but was rebuffed because the *patres* had already drawn up their list. Degrassi, listing this passage and *CIL* II 1115 (20), awarded Florian the *suffect* consulate in 276.²¹⁷ The *HA* passage must be anachronistic; not until the fourth century did the senate again appoint *suffect* consuls.²¹⁸ We are left, then, with just the three

²¹⁴ Degrassi 1952, 73-4.

²¹⁵ Degrassi 1952, 73 and Rea 1972b, 27-8.

²¹⁶ Zos. 1.63-4; Zonar. 12.28. See also Syme 1971, 247 and Gaggero 1973, 113-7. Also the coins with the reverse legend VICTORIA GOTHICA: RIC V.1 110, 171-3 (Ticinum) and 199-200 (Serdica).

²¹⁷ Degrassi 1952, 74. So too Schüllinger-Häfele 1986, 84.

²¹⁸ See Merten et al. 1985, ad loc. and Bagnall et al. 1987, 3. Surely this is part of the theme of senatorial revival during Tacitus' reign which the *HA* author carefully developed. On this, but without the present passage, Syme 1971, 239-41.

inscriptions. Given the brevity of his reign, it is hardly likely that Florian held a second consulate, thus the last stone must produce an error. Nor are the other two particularly forceful. It seems more likely that these stones erroneously give the consulate to Florian.

Probus

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i>	86
<i>tr. pot. III</i>	87
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i>	88
<i>cos. II</i>	89-90, 94a
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	91-5
<i>cos. III</i>	97-9, 104
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i>	96, 100-2
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max.</i>	103
<i>tr. pot. IV</i>	105
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Goth. max. Germ. max.</i>	106-7
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Goth. Germ.</i>	108
<i>cos. IV</i>	108a-10
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i>	111-2
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i>	113-4
<i>cos. V</i>	114a-5
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. V</i>	116-8

If we assume regular tribunician iteration on 10 December, then we get the following scheme.²¹⁹

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	ca. June - 9 December 276
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 276
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 277
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 277
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 278

²¹⁹ For the consulates, Degrassi 1952, 74.

Chronology

<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	10 - 31 December 278
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	1 January - 9 December 279
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	10 December 279 - 9 December 280
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i>	10 - 31 December 280
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i>	1 January - 9 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. IV</i>	10 - 31 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. V</i>	1 January - September/December 282

Two of the attested combinations will not fit this scheme.

tr. pot. V cos. IV -- RIC V.2 914 (Antioch), RIC V.2 248 (Rome)
tr. pot. VI cos. V -- RIC V.2 249-51, 260, HCC IV 67, Gnechi III p. 71, 93 (Rome)

The fact that several coins from the mint at Rome do not fit makes regular iteration on 10 December somewhat suspect.²²⁰ Furthermore, regular iteration requires seven tribunician powers altogether, whereas the documents show only six. This is particularly odd, since the seventh iteration would have been rather long. In solution, Probus' *dies imperii* has been suggested as the annual date of tribunician renewal; and indeed, this will accommodate the documents.²²¹ On the other hand, this system of tribunician iteration would again leave us with a long (ca. June - fall 282) period that should have been *tr. pot. VII*, but which is recorded nowhere in the preserved documents. There is one possibility that would account for everything.

We know that so long as Florian lived, Probus did not control the West. Hence, he could not have received the tribunician power from the senate until after Florian's death at the earliest. Perhaps he waited just a bit longer, i.e. until 10 December 276 to take his first tribunician power, and reckoned annual renewal on 10 December thenceforth.²²²

²²⁰ See also Vitucci 1952, 136-7.

²²¹ Kramer & Jones 1943, 80-1.

²²² According to *HA Prob.* 11.5 and 12.8, the senate voted the tribunician power for Probus on 3 February, presumably of 277. The whole of this, though, is fiction. Cf. Merten et al. 1985, ad loc. Also Syme 1971, 217-20 generally on the creations of the *HA* author regarding Probus. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 85 assumes 10 December iteration, though with *tr. pot. II* coming on 10 December 276.

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	10 - 31 December 276
<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 277
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 277
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 278
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	10 - 31 December 278
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	1 January - 9 December 279
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	10 December 279 - 9 December 280
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	10 - 31 December 280
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i>	1 January - 9 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i>	10 - 31 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. V</i>	1 January - September 282

The following victory titles are on record for Probus.

<i>Adiab.</i> -- 85 (dedication, Africa)
<i>Goth.</i> -- 74 (dedication, Italy)
<i>cos. III Germ. max.</i> -- 103 (dedication, Africa)
<i>verus Goth. verus Germ.</i> -- 60 (dedication, Tarraconensis)
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III verus Goth. verus Germ.</i> -- 108 (dedication, Hispania)
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Goth. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 106-7 (milestones, Narbonensis)
<i>Germ. max. Med. max. Parth. max.</i> -- 134 (papyrus)
<i>Goth. max. Parth. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 135 (papyri)
<i>Goth. max. Pers. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 136 (papyri)
<i>Pers. max. Goth. max.</i> -- 137 (papyri)
<i>Francicus, Gothicus, Sarmaticus, Parthicus</i> -- <i>HA Prob.</i> 11.9

Because of the abominable state of the literary tradition for this reign, it is extremely difficult to establish just whom Probus fought as well as when he may have done so.²²³ It seems, from the list given above, that Probus had officially three victory titles, viz. *Gothicus maximus*, *Germanicus maximus* and *Persicus* (or *Parthicus*) *maximus*. The earliest papyrus with victory titles, *P. Oxy. XIV* 1713.20-3 (20 October 279) shows all three of these titles.

²²³ The essential accounts are, *HA Prob.* 13.5 ff., *Zos.* 1.77.1 ff. and 1.69.1-4. Vitucci 1952, 33-83 provides the most thorough interpretation. See also Walser & Pekáry 1962, 54-5 and Polverini 1975, 1025-7.

The other datable documents with victory titles show *cos. III* (279/80). Hence, it would appear that all of these titles were awarded to Probus between 276 and 279.²²⁴

Vitucci has suggested that *Gothicus maximus* was granted in 277.²²⁵ He bases his argument on *CIL XI* 1178b (74), which combines the title with *tr. pot. cos.* It is then assumed that *cos.* means *cos. I*, which in turn means 277. This may be, but as Vitucci himself realizes, the lack of an iteration number renders the date of the stone, hence that of the title, suspicious.²²⁶

The German campaign, according to Vitucci, was carried out in 277 and 278.²²⁷ This would fit well with the evidence suggesting the actual grant of the title *Germanicus maximus* by (roughly) 279.

It would appear, given its relatively frequent appearance in the papyri, that Probus had officially the victory title *Persicus* (or *Parthicus*) *maximus*.²²⁸ There is no obvious event, however, with which this title can be connected. The *HA Prob.* 17.4 reports that the Parthians, struck with fear because of Probus' resounding success against the revolting Blemmyae in Egypt, sent ambassadors to seek an agreement with Rome. The date would be about right, i.e. ca. 280, but the report of an embassy from the Parthians may well be another of the *HA* author's fictions.²²⁹ While we should possibly accept *Persicus maximus* as an official title, and date its grant prior to 279/80, the occasion of the grant must remain obscure.²³⁰

²²⁴ Also on the victory titles: E. Van't Dack, "De zegecoguomina van Keizer Probus" in *Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker* (Antwerp & Utrecht 1973) 566-79; E. Kettenhofen, "Zur Siegestitulatur des Kaisers Probus" *ZA* 36 (1986) 39-43.

²²⁵ Vitucci 1952, 35-6 esp. n. 3. Salomon 1971, 138 agrees. See too Gaggero 1973, 119.

²²⁶ Cf. Vitucci 1952, 34-5.

²²⁷ Vitucci 1952, 35-48. The dates are accepted by Polverini 1975, 1025-6.

²²⁸ See cat. nos. 134-7. The title appears nowhere else in the documents. Nor is there any sort of reference (e.g. *VICTORIA PARTHICA* or the like) to a victory over Persia in the coinage. Vitucci 1952, 63 notes the lack of attestation outside the papyri, and resultantly questions the title as official.

²²⁹ On the revolt of the Blemmyae, Schwartz 1970, 385-6. The report of the embassy from the Persians may have been modeled on the similar situation in 296/97 -- cf. Vitucci 1952, 62-3. See also Merten et al. 1985, ad loc.

²³⁰ Perhaps this had something to do with the revolt of Saturninus. Yet, those events are so obscure as to be of no help here. See: Vitucci 1952, 58-61; Pomeroy 1969, 54-6; Polverini 1975, 1026 n. 50. Also above p. 48.

One stone (64) may record an *imperator* acclamation. No date, however, can be assigned to this.

Carus, Carinus, Numerian

<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i>	36-8
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	39-40
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II Pers. max. Germ. max</i>	41
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Carinus Caes. + Numerian Caes</i>	179
<i>Carinus tr. pot. II cos. Germ. max</i>	93

The consulates for this reign are,

283 -- Carus *cos. II*, and after his death Carinus *cos. I*
284 -- Carinus *cos. II*, Numerian *cos. I*.²³¹

It is clear that Carus came to the throne in the fall of 282, and was dead by summer of 283. We have two tribunician iterations attested by the documents, which would allow us to posit renewal of Carus' tribunician power either on 10 December or on 1 January. Though I should prefer the former date, the documents cannot prove it.²³²

If Carinus was *Augustus* from roughly spring 283 until the same season in 285, and if he renewed his tribunician power on either 10 December or 1 January, then there is room for three tribunician iterations for him. The documents attest only two. Nonetheless, this is acceptable, since the third iteration would have begun either on 10 December 284 or 1 January 285. In either case, Diocletian was already proclaimed, and there will have been

²³¹ Degrassi 1952, 75. It is not altogether clear why Carus is *cos. II* in his first imperial consulate. Degrassi suggested *ornamenta*, though a suffect consulate (say) in the fall of 282 seems more likely. Cf. Bagnall et al. 1987, n. a. 285. Also Meloni 1948, 35-7.

²³² Kramer & Jones 1943, 81-2 argue for an anniversary renewal, but mistakenly assume: a) that Carus died in December of 283; b) that documents with (e.g.) *tr. pot. cos. II* imply absolutely the first tribunician iteration. Meloni 1948, 32-5 argues that Carus (possibly) took his first tribunician power upon accession, and his second when Carinus was granted the tribunician power. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 85 assumes regular renewal on 10 December.

confusion about Carinus' position, which could well have caused no documents (or very few) with *tr. pot. III* to have been produced.²³³

With a reign extending from ca. July 283 until November 284, we might expect two tribunician iterations for Numerian as well. It seems clear that he received the tribunician power (132 ff.), probably when he became *Augustus*; however, there is no evidence of a second iteration. Still, the argument from silence is not probative.

The following victory titles are attested.

Carus,
Germ. max. -- 151 (dedication, Italy), 183 (papyri)
Pers. max. -- 181 (dedication, Egypt)
divus Parth. -- 5 (coins, Lugdunum and Siscia)
divus Pers. -- 6 (coins, Rome)
Pers. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. II -- 41 (dedication, Africa)

Carinus,
Germ. max. -- 80 (dedication, Numidia), 173 (milestone, Numidia), 183 (papyri)
Germ. max. Brit. max. Pers. max. -- 190 (milestone, Italy)
Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. -- 93 (dedication, Numidia)

Carus & Carinus,
Germn. -- 159 (dedication, Italy)

The posthumous victory titles on the coins from Rome, Lugdunum and Siscia indicate that Carinus had his father declared either *Persicus* or *Parthicus*.²³⁴ It also seems possible that Carinus was *Germanicus maximus* officially, though *Britannicus* and *Persicus* seem much less likely.

It may be that we have an *imperator* acclamation for Numerian (130); but again, no date can reasonably be offered.

²³³ Note also that Carinus seems to have assumed a third consulate in 285, the memory of which was nearly obliterated by Diocletian. Bagnall et al. 1987, n. a. 284. The third tribunician power may have gone the same way as the consulate.

²³⁴ The *HA* *Car.* 8.1 also claims that Carus received the epithet *Persicus*.

The Gallic Empire²³⁵

Postumus, late summer/fall 260 - ca. spring 269

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I (?)</i>	summer/fall - 9 December 260
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 260
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 261
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	10 - 31 December 261
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i>	1 January - 9 December 262
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	10 December 262 - 9 December 263
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i>	10 December 263 - 9 December 264
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i>	10 December 264 - 9 December 265
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III</i>	10 December 265 - 9 December 266
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. III</i>	10 - 31 December 266
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. IV</i>	1 January - 9 December 267
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV</i>	10 December 267 - 9 December 268
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV</i>	10 - 31 December 268
<i>tr. pot. X cos. V</i>	1 January - ca. spring 269

Laelianus, ca. spring 269

tr. pot. I

Marius, ca. spring 269

tr. pot. I

Victorinus, ca. late spring 269 - early 271

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i>	Spring - 9 December 269
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 269
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 270
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	10 December 270 - early 271

²³⁵ Since it would be most inconvenient to attempt, in the present format, to describe the evidence for the chronology of the Gallic emperors (mainly numismatic with the addition of the problematic literary sources), and since there are already several recent and excellent studies of the subject, I have contented myself with a mere table of dates. For the best arguments, König 1981 and Drinkwater 1987.

Tetricus, early 271 - ca. spring 274

<i>tr. pot. I</i>	early - 9 December 271
<i>tr. pot. II</i>	10 - 31 December 271
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i>	1 January - 9 December 272
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i>	10 - 31 December 272
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i>	1 January - 9 December 273
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i>	10 - 31 December 273
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i>	1 January - ca. spring 274

CATALOGUE

Introduction

In this catalogue I have attempted to gather as completely and to reproduce as accurately as possible the evidence for the titulature of the emperors and pretenders from Maximinus Thrax to Carinus. The task has been arduous, and there can to no claim to perfection in any sense. In particular, I should mention that I was able to lay hands on *CIL* XVII only at the last minute, and its incorporation has thus caused some difficulty. It should also be noted that, due to the perplexing variety of the evidence, I have been unable to devise a simple method of presenting the material. Hence some explanation of the catalogue's arrangement is in order.

Within the section for each imperial family, each attested titular formula is listed along with the documents that preserve it. The formulae themselves are arranged by language (Greek or Latin), and then according to three basic groups, which depend, in turn, on the standard official titulature. Group A contains all examples with just the first half of the standard official formula, i.e. *Imperator Caesar (name) Pius Felix Augustus*. Group B has those formulae with elements of both the first and second half (*pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate consul pater patriae proconsul*) of this standard formula, but without any exact chronological indications -- i.e. iteration numbers. Group C contains those formulae that do have some kind of iteration number, and here the standard formula is subordinate to chronology. Of course, other epithets (e.g. *dominus noster*, *restitutor orbis* or the like) are frequently included in all three categories, but in so far as arrangement is concerned, they play a rôle secondary to the elements of the standard formula.

For inscriptions I give only a location within a province, employing the Severan provincial divisions. Wherever the text of a stone has seemed to me to dubious, I have included a footnote on it, though I reproduce only that part of the inscription which contains imperial titulature. Coins can be listed according to mint, though this becomes difficult in many cases because of the uncertainties regarding mint attributions.¹ For the papyri *Bureth* is still essential. I have also employed the work of Professor Sijpesteijn frequently to correct and supplement entries in *Bureth*, and have attempted to add relevant

papyri published in the interim. As with the inscriptions, where coin legends or papyrus texts require interpretation, this is relegated to a footnote.

¹This is particularly troublesome for the medallions. Through the time of Gallienus, these were minted only at Rome, but subsequently at various places. Cf. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (repr. New York 1986) 48-51 with the comments of W.E. Metcalf (i-ii). P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Welteren 1988) 54-61 now discusses the minting places of medallions for the period from Claudius II through the usurper Sabinus Julianus. Still, it is very difficult to assign individual coins to their proper mints, particularly for Probus and Carus and his sons. Nor can I claim to have attempted this with any real success.

Maximinus Thrax and Maximus
(ca. mid-March 235 - early June 238)

C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Max(iminus)
C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Maxim(us)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 25.1-2 *Namque Gaius Julius Maximinus...potentiam cepit suffragiis legionum. Quod tamen etiam patres, dum periculorum existimant inermes armato resistere, approbaverunt; filiusque eius pari nomine Gaius Julius Maximinus Caesar factus est.*

Epit. de Caes. 25.1 *Iullus-Maximinus Thrax, ex militaribus, imperavit annos tres.*

Eutrop. 9.1 *Post hunc Maximinus ex corpore militari primus ad imperium accessit sola militum voluntate, cum nulla senatus intercessisset auctoritas neque ipse senator esset. Is bello adversus Germanos feliciter gesto cum a militibus imperator esset appellatus...*

Herodian 6.9.5-6 *...πεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταληπάνουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ προσλασι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκείνος διαγορεύεται.*

idem 6.9.6 δὲ Μαξιμίνος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστὸς προσαγορευθεὶς...

HA Maximin. 8.1 *Sed occiso Alexandro Maximus in us primum e corpore militari et nondum senator sine decreto senatus Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est filio sibimet in participatu m dato...*

idem 22.6 *inter haec Maximinus cum filio adule s cente, quem Caesarem appellaverat...*

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.19.1 *Maximinus...nulla senatus voluntate imperator ab exercitu...creatus...*

Zonaras 12.16 *Αύταρχος δ' οὗτος δ Μαξιμίνος εύθὺς ἐπέστειλε τῇ συγκλήτῃ, τὴν ἐκ τῶν στρατευμάτων διάρρησιν ταύτη δηλῶν ἑαυτοῦ.*

II. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *d. n. C. Iul. Max. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII* 22221
2. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.2* 18-23, 78-94; *BMCRE VI* 137 ff.; *HCC III* 18-9, 46-62; *Gnechhi I* p. 47, 1; *II* p. 87, 4
3. *Imp. Max. Pi.*
Coins: Cilicia (Ninika-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5778-81
4. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.2* 7-17, 43-77; *BMCRE VI* 1 ff.; *HCC III* 4-17, 23-43; *Gnechhi I* p. 42, 2; *II* p. 86, 1
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 112, 13; *SNGCop Thrace* 546; *Hunter* 1 p. 439, 4
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7566
5. *Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE v 1316/CIL VIII* 22619/*IA* 11
6. *Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max.*
Coins: Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 94, 41
Cilicia (Ninika-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5775-7
7. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max.*
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7567

8. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ILP* 47
Asia -- *MAMA* VIII 7¹
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 9039
Coins: Macedonia (Pella) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 285

9. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug.*
Coins: Lycia (Comana) -- *SNGAul* 5068
Lycia (Cremona) -- *SNGAul* 5101-3, 8606

10. *Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1897) 144/*CIL* III 14149.33

11. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1904) 67

12. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- Castillo 1985, 241 n. 185
Bithynia -- *CIL* III 12226 (= 13650) / *IK* 9, 21; *RRM* 31b²
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22342³
Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 669/*CIL* VIII 22597⁴

13. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1935) 42

14. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1948) 209

15. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Bactria -- *CIL* II 46955

16. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Pi.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7467⁶

17. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11135/*ILS* 4311

18. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 428/*ILS* 2219

19. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Aquileiensium restitutor et conditor*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 7989/*ILS* 487

III. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group B

20. *Imp. Max. cos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/*Roxan* 1978, 777

21. *Imp. d. n. Max. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7281/*ILS* 3805; *RGAI* 2138

22. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV,2 1, 24-6; *BMCRE* VI 9-14; *HCC* III 1-2

¹The inscription is broken after *Maximinus*.

²The stone is broken after, [p]io felicit, and *Augusto* is my suggestion.

³*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)] / C(aio) Iulia [Ve] / ro Max[imino] / mino [Pi] / o Felici...*

⁴*Imp(eratori) [Caes(ar)] / C(aio) Iu[lio] Vero / Max[imino] / Pio [Felici] / Aug(usto)...*

⁵*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius)] Iulius Verus / Maximinus Pius Felix / Aug(ustus) Germanicus max(imus) / Sarmaticus max(imus) [—]*

⁶*Imp(eratori) [Caesa]r <i>[C(aio)] Iul[io] Vero Maximino Invic[ito] Aug(usto) Germ(anico) maximo Pio[—]*

⁷ This is the dating formula of the inside of *tabella 1*. See also below 27 and 49.

23. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2009.21/*ILS* 466⁸

24. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1902) 126/*CIL* III 1442⁹

25. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6932, 6945

26. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 757/*ILS* 5517

27. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2001.17¹⁰
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77¹¹

28. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *RRM* 36(i)

29. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1986, 80 no. 4

30. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4696¹²

⁸ *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) Maximino] Aug(ustus) et Pupienio Africano cfo(n)s(ulibus).*

⁹ I give the reading printed in *CIL*, which differs slightly from that given in *AE*.

¹⁰ *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) Vero Maximino] Pio Fel(ici) Aug(ustus) et M(arco) [Pupienio Afri/cano co(n)s(ulibus)].*

¹¹ See also 20 above and 49 below.

¹² *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / L. (sic) Iulius Verus Maximinus / Pius Felix Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) / Sarmaticus maximus / Dacicus maximus / P[...] / S[...].*

31. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm.*
max.
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 47

32. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2001.15;¹³ *CIL* VI 2009.19/*ILS* 466¹⁴
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10459; *EE* vii 672/*CIL* VIII 22600

33. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10152 (= 22242)

34. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4643/*Weber* 1968-71, 129 no. 6¹⁵
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22605

35. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 698, 699
Numidia -- *Gsell* 1915, cc-cci/*Salama* 1980, 110

36. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Salama* 1951-52, 227 no. 2, 228 no. 3¹⁶

37. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *EE* v 75/*CIL* III 6951; *EE* v 76/*CIL* III 6952

¹³ *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) / pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul).*

¹⁴ *[Imp(eratore) Caes(arem) C(aium) Iulifum Ve]num Maximun Pium [Felicem Aug(ustum) pont(ificem) max(imum)] / trib(unicia) pot(estate) [p(atem) p(atriae) p(roco)n)s(ul).*

¹⁵ *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulifus] / V[er]us M[aximin]us / P[ius Fel]ix Aug(ustus) / [pontifex max]is[im]us / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) --.*

¹⁶ Both stones are fragmentary; but by combining them, we get this formula.

38. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14354.4

39. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11340

40. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. optimus maximus princ. n.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8861/XVII 312¹⁷

41. *d. n. invictissimus Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1957) 338/*NILM* 1

IV. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group C

42. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. des.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1085
Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* lv 444/*CIL* III 10645

43. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. procos. cos. des.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4177

44. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6465

¹⁷I would restore this stone as follows: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [C(aio) Iul(i) Ve(ro) Max(imino) Pio / Felic(i) Aug(usto) [G]ermanico max(imo) Sarmatico / max(imo) Duc(ico) ma]x(imo) / pont(ifici) ma]x(imo) trib(unicia) p]o[st]estate? c]o(n)s(ul) proc(onsuli) opti]m]o ma]dimoque [prin(cipi)] n(ostro). It is possible that tr. pot III is here to be restored, as below 57. Walser (*CIL* XVII) does restore the third tribunician iteration, and also adds in the lacunose line 7 *p(atri) p(atriae)*.*

45. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. cos. des.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5427/König 1970, 2; *CIL* XII 5428/König 1970, 4/*CIL* XVII 4

46. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1973) 276/*Styloc* 1974, 515-32/*Sotgiu* 1988, B90

47. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4, 35-6; *BMCRE* VI 157-60

48. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 2-3, 27-34, 112; *BMCRE* VI 44, 54-7, 77-84; *HCC* III 3, 20-2; *Gnechi* II p. 86, 2-3

49. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. procos. cos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 798/*Styloc* 1974, 530-1/*AE* (1975) 466/*Sotgiu* 1988, C19
Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10642¹⁸
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/*Roxan* 1978, 77¹⁹

50. *Imp. d. n. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22267

51. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. procos. conservator orbis*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 452

¹⁸*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / C(aio) Iul(i) Ver(o) Ma[x]imino / P(i) Felic(i) Aug(usto) po]/nufici maximo / tribunicia / potestate II / p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(ul) pr]o co(n)s(ul).*

¹⁹See also 20 and 27 above.

52. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?) procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 46²⁰

53. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos. imp. II*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5742²¹

54. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1925) 5122

55. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 5, 37-9; *BMCRE* VI 161-9

56. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22569

57. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus. princ. n.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8862/XVII 313;²³ *CIL* XIII 8864/XVII 316

²⁰ [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Iulio Vero Maximino P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) / pont(ifici) max(im)o
G]erm(anico) max(im)o D[ac]ic(o) max(im)o Sarm(atico) max(im)o / trib(unicia) p[ro]p[ter]estate II co(n)s(uli)
imp(eratori) ? procons(uli) p(ot)er p(atri)ae] --.

²¹ This inscription also had, originally, the titulature of Maximus; but it breaks after his name, thus I have entered it here rather than below with the stones of Maximinus and Maximus. There are two other stones, with both Maximinus and Maximus, from Noricum -- cf. 167 below.

²² [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aius) Iulius / Maximinus] / Plus Felix Aug(ustus) [pont(ifex) / maximus] trib(unicia)
[pot(estate) II] / [imp(eratori) III co(n)s(uli) p(ater) p(atri)ae].

²³ See also 40 above.

58. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6375 (=9083) / *IBR* 494 /
RIBW 165 / *CIL* XVII 655;²⁴ *CIL* XIII 11971²⁵
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10073 (=22031)²⁶

59. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 6, 40-2; *BMCRE* VI 219-25; *HCC* III 44-5

60. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILAT* 452

60a. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XVII 303c²⁷

61. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1975) 611
Lusitania -- *CIL* XVII 366²⁸
Italy -- *CIL* XI 6201

²⁴ [imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aius) Julius Venus] / Max[im]inus P(ius) Fel(ix) / Aug(ustus) [p(ont)ifex]
m(aximus) Ger(manicus) max(aximus) / Dac(icus) max(imus) / Sarm(aticus) / max(imus) trib(unicia)
[p(ot)estate] III imp(eratori) / V / co(n)s(uli) p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli). This stone surely contained
Maximus' titulature as well, but that is now lost. Walser (*CIL* XVII) restores, C(aius) Julius Venus / Maximus
nob(ilissimus) Caes(ar).

²⁵ [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Iulio / Vero Maximino P(io) / Fel(ici) Aug(usto) pontifici / max(im)o
Germ(anico) max(im)o / Dac(ic)o max(im)o Sarmatico max(im)o tribunicia) / [pot(estate) III]
imp(eratori) V [p(atri) p(atriae)] co(n)s(uli) / proco(n)s(uli).

²⁶ [imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / C(aius) Julius Venus / Maximinus Pius / Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) Germani] / max(imus)
Sarmaticus / max(imus) Dacicus max(imus) / pont(ifex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) III / imp(eratori) V
[...].

²⁷ This milestone contains several different inscriptions, and the text that Walser attributes to Maximinus is questionable, as he notes. In particular, this would be the only known attestation of *cos. II* for Maximus.

²⁸ *CIL* XVII 489 may also attest *cos. III* for Maximinus; but the stone is too fragmentary to allow certainty.

V. Maximinus, Greek Titles, Group A

62. Μαξ.

Inscriptions: Egypt -- KK 57

63. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ.

Coins: Asia (Nysa) -- SNGAul 3050

64. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ. Αυy.

Coin: Asia (Dorylaion) -- SNGAul 3564
 Asia (Hadrianeia) -- SNGAul 1138
 Bithynia (Claudiopolis) -- SNGAul 333-5
 Bithynia (Heracleia Pontica) -- SNGAul 406-10
 Bithynia (Juliopolis) -- SNGAul 6974
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- SNGAul 629-40, 7046; KBM 34-52
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- SNGAul 788-96
 Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- SNGAul 877-9, 7155
 Bithynia (Prusias on the Ilyrios) -- SNGAul 7166
 Bithynia (Tios) -- SNGAul 995-8, 7185-6

65. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. Σεβ.

Coins: Palestine (Ascalon) -- BMC Palestine p. 140, 251-3²⁹

66. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: BGU 2086, 8-9

67. Aut. Μαξ.

Coin: Thrace (Anchialos) -- AMNG II, 615-6
 Asia (Nysa) -- SNGAul 3049

²⁹ These coins are all worn and the obverse legends only partially preserved. No. 251, [...] ΠΟΣΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣΣ[EB]; no. 252, [...]ΜΙΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣΣΕΒ; no. 253, ΓΙΟΥ[ΑΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝ]ΟΣΣΕΒ. By combining what is preserved on each coin, we can reasonably suggest this formula.

68. Aut. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ.

Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- SNGCop Macedonia 425

69. Aut. Μαξ. Ευσ.

Coin: Thrace (Anchialos) -- BMC Thrace p. 85, 15
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 78; KAK 2553 ff.

70. Aut. Μαξ. Ευσ. Αυy.

Coin: Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- BMC Thrace p. 60, 43-6; SNGCop Thrace 299;
 Hunter I p. 417, 9
 Thrace (Anchialos) -- BMC Thrace p. 85-6, 16-8; AMNG II, 568-614;
 SNGCop Thrace 440-1

71. Aut. Μαξ. Ευσ. Σεβ.

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- KAK 2547 ff.

72. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ. Aut. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- IGBulg 731

73. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ. Καισ. θ κυρ.

Papyri: Bureth p. 110, no. 1 (1)

74. Aut. Καισ. Ιουλ. Μαξ.

Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- SNGAul 5312

75. Aut. Καισ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ.

Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- SNGCop Macedonia 119

76. Aut. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρp. Μαξ.

Coin: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- BMC Macedonia p. 123-4, 111-4; Hunter I
 p. 374, 69
 Asia (Akmonia) -- SNGAul 3378
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- SNGAul 7382
 Asia (Ephesus) -- SNGAul 1912
 Asia (Eucarpeia) -- SNGAul 3578
 Asia (Nysa) -- SNGAul 3051
 Asia (Themisonion) -- SNGAul 4020-1

Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul* 4899
 Lycia (Kolbasa) -- *SNGAul* 5062
 Lycia (Timbriada) -- *SNGAul* 5374
 Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5521-2
 Cilicia (Carallia) -- *SNGAul* 5608, 8685
 Cilicia (Jotape) -- *SNGAul* 8682
 Cilicia (Koropissos) -- *SNGAul* 5673
 Cilicia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 5804
 Cilicia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4826-8, 8539-40
 Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5902

77. Aut. Kais. Iouλ. (?) Maξ. Auy.
 Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4693

78. Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Maξ. Auy.
 Coins: Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5235

79. Aut. Kais. Maξ. Σεβ.
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 110, no. 2 (1)

80. Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Oupr. Maξ. Σεβ.
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* VII 7b
 Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4911
 Lycia (Aspendos) -- *SNGAul* 4593, 8504
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4692
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5500
 Cilicia (Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5564

81. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξ. Σεβ.
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1967) 476/IK 12, 301³⁰

82. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Καῖσ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξ. Αυτ. Σεβ.
 Γερμ. μεγ. Διοκ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ.
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 755/*IGBulg* 1563

83. Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Oupr. Maξ. Eus. Eut. Σεβ.
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *SEG* (1959) 348/*AE* (1960) 308
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 110, no. 3 (6); *P. Oxy.* L 3564, 9-11

84. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Oupr. Maξ. Eus. Eut. Σεβ.
 Inscriptions: Egypt -- *IGRR* I 1100/*AE/IGL* 86
 Achaea -- *SEG* 24 (1969) 443
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 1 (4)

85. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Ουπρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* V,2 134

86. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότης Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ.
 Ουπρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. ὁ Αυτικ.
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *ISM* I 94

VI. Maximinus, Greek Titles, Group B

87. Aut. Kais. Γ. Iouλ. Oupr. Maξ. Σεβ. π. π.
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6029-32

VII. Maximus, Latin Titles, Group A

88. *Iul. Ver. Maxim.*
 Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 5; *SNGCop Thrace* 881

³⁰ This stone contained originally the titulature of both Maximinus and Maximus; however, the lower portion is now lost. What remains of the titulature is (lines 3 ff.), ...τῶν κυρίων / ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γ. Ιουλ(ιου) / [Οὐράνιου Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ--

89. *Iul. Maxim. Caes.*
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- SNGAul 1476, 7568

90. *Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 1; BMCRE VI 118; HCC III 1

91. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL VI 2001.19³¹
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 6-8; BMCRE VI 119-22; HCC III 5-6
Thrace (Deultum) -- BMC Thrace p. 112, 14-5
Macedonia (Dium) -- BMC Macedonia p. 71, 6
Macedonia (Pella) -- BMC Macedonia p. 94, 41; Hunter I p. 364, 22
Lycia (Cremina) -- SNGAul 5102-3

92. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 9-10; BMCRE VI 123-5

93. *Maxim. Caes. Germ.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 2, 11-2, 15-6;³² BMCRE VI 201-9; HCC III 2, 7-10

94. *Maxim. Caes. Germ. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 3, 5, 13-4; BMCRE VI 210-8; HCC III 3-4, 11-6

95. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- CIL III 30833
Africa -- IRT 453

³¹ *[C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximus] Caes(ar).*

³² Both nos. 15 and 16 are hybrids, with reverses of Maximinus.

³³ The stone actually has *Maximino*, rather than *Maximo*, but I take this as a mistake by the stone-cutter.

96. *d. n. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 22238³⁴

97. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- AE (1937) 4535

98. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- ILP 49

99. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL VI 1086³⁶

100. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- AE (1906) 8;³⁷ CIL VIII 22274³⁸

101. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 10179

102. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. Aug. Pi. Fel.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- MAMA VIII 348/AE (1933) 3

³⁴ This stone actually has *Maximino* -- surely the stonecutter's error.

³⁵ The stone reads: --*mus nob[iliissim(us)] / Caes(ar) prin[ceps iu] / venturis* etc. Maximinus was probably also included on this milestone originally. It is possible to date the stone to the reign of Maximinus and Maximus because it was set up by O. Valerius, procurator provinciae Africar. See H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1961) 1097.

³⁶ This stone breaks off after Maximus' titulature. The CIL editors restore the following (lines 5-6): *[filio d(omi)ni] n(ostri) C(aius) Iuli Veri / Maximini P(ili) F(elicis) Aug(usti)...*

³⁷ This stone reads (lines 2-3): *[pro salute C(aius)] Iuli Veri M(a)ximi Aug(usti) no/bilissimi Caes(aris).*

³⁸ This stone also contained (apparently) Maximinus' titles, but is too damaged to restore properly.

VIII. Maximus, Latin Titles, Group B

103. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Pt. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8926³⁹

IX. Maximus, Greek Titles, Group A

104. Μαξιμ. Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 100

105. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Coins: Asia (Orthosia) -- *SNGAul* 2647
Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul* 4900

106. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Coins: Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGAul* 3611

107. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Coins: Moesia Inf. (Tomii) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 61, 49

108. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Inscriptions: Belgica -- *ILBelg* 149

109. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *Hunter* I p. 374, 70

110. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Coins: Moesia Inf. (Tomii) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 61, 47-8
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 124, 115

Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 174
Bithynia (Cios) -- *SNGAul* 510-1
Bithynia (Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 336-9
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 411, 6956-7
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 641-52, 7047-8; *KBM* 53-65
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 797-805, 7115-6
Bithynia (Prusias on the Hypios) -- *SNGAul* 907
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 999-1001
Asia (Bruzios) -- *SNGAul* 3526
Asia (Cyrene) -- *SNGAul* 1655
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1282
Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2060
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3052
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4695
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 8541
Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 8716
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 78; *KAK* 2587 ff.

111. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Γερμ. Δακ. Σερμ. Coins: Cilicia (Coropissos) -- *SNGAul* 5674-5

112. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ. Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 6749-50

113. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ. Coins: Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5042
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5313

114. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουπρ. Μαξιμ. Ευσ (or Ευτ.) Σεβ. Coins: Lycia (Pendelissos) -- *SNGAul* 5140
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4694

³⁹The upper part of this stone is lost, and all that remains of the name is, ---*aximo*. Espérandieu originally thought the stone to belong to Constantius, but this is rightly rejected by Hirschfeld (*CIL* ad loc.).

X. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group A

115. *Max. et Maxim. Augg. Germm.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 120-1; *BMCRE* VI 230-1; *Gnechi* II pp. 86-7, 3-4116. *Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. fil.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6202117. *Imp. Max. Aug. et Maxim. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 3014 (= 5307)/*ILS* 4137118. *Imp. Max. Pl. Aug. Maxim. Caes. Germ.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 118119. *divae Paulinae Aug. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Imp. Aug. uxori C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. matr nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1964) 236/*ILP* 48120. *Imp. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10165121. *Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Max. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 676/*CIL* VIII 22624/*IA* 12122. *Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1924) 148/*ISM* I 346123. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. Caes. sanctissimus Aug. fil. Aug.*Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112 no. 3(1)124. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *Scott* 1981, 309-10125. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. Inv. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1895) 177126. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5534/*RSS* 24/*WRIS* 319/*CIL* XVII 135
Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 9058/*RSS* 29/*CIL* XVII 130127. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1985) 813128. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. nob.*Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9121/XVII 630129. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10240130. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1971) 474⁴⁰Arabia -- *CIL* III 14154.1/*ILS* 5844131. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. eius Germ. max.*Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1902) 16132. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Imp. n. fil. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. n. princ. iuv.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1973) 238133. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Sarm. Dac. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5545/König 1970, 117/*CIL* XVII 155

⁴⁰(*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) / Iulio Vero / Maximino P(io) F(elici) / Aug(usto) n(astro) et / C(aio) Iulio*)
Vero / Maximo / [nobil]issimo / [C]aesar / [fil]io / Aug(usti) n(ostr)l. The editors have restored this
*inscription on the basis of *CIL* III 14154.*

134. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7605/*IDR* V 97; *CIL* III 14462/*ISM* I 321
Asia (?) -- *Polacco* 1970, 188
Cappadocia -- *AE* (1977) 814
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10214⁴¹

135. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10646

136. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10254

137. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. fil.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 5123⁴²

138. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 13788 (=31386)/*Peachin* 1984, 123-6

139. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 6770/*RECAM* II 225

140. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. Max. Pi. Fel. et Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4515

141. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *Bojanovski* 1977, 188-96

⁴¹Imperatore (sic) / Caesare (sic) C(aio) Iulio Vero Maxi/mo Invic/ito Pio Felice (sic) / [Aug(usto) et C(aio) Iulio / Vero Maximo / [nob]ilissimo Caes(aris)].

⁴²The first part of the stone is lost, and all of Maximus' titulature is restored.

142. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 119/*CIL* VIII 12251⁴³

143. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1428/*Inscript. Ital.* VII, 1 11

144. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1934) 111/*IDR* V 20

XI. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group B

145. *divae Paulinae Aug. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. cos. procos. p. p. uxori C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1964) 220

146. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. Imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1940) 153/*AE* (1949) 13⁴⁴

147. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Max. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 664a

⁴³C(aio) Iulio Vero Maxi/mo nobilissimo / Caes(aris) fil(io) d(omi)ni n(ostr)i / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(aio) Iuli Veri / [Maxi]mini P[ri] Fe/licis Aug(usti) -- .

⁴⁴[Pro Salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / C(aio) Iuli Veri Maximini / Pi Felicis pont(ificis) max(im) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atris) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul)is] / Imp(eratoris) et C(aio) Iuli Veri Ma/ximi nobilissimi / Caes(aris) Aug(ustorum).

148. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 3711a (= 10621a?)

149. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. cos. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Imp.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *Sotgiu* 1988, B161

150. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 15203/*AIIJug* 604

151. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9085/XVII 622;⁴⁵ *CIL* XIII 9106/*RSO* 214/*CIL* XVII 638
Pannonia Sup. -- *AIIJug* 602

152. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3743

153. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8867/XVII 318⁴⁶

⁴⁵This stone is entirely restored after the first line, *Imp(erator) C(aesar) Iul(ius) C(aesar) Iul(ius) f...*

⁴⁶Walser now restores (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), *Imp(erator) Caesar [C(aesar) Iul(ius) Ver]us Maximinus Pius / Felix Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) [tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III co(n)s(ul)] / proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) imp(erator) V] / et C(aesar) Iul(ius) Verus Maximus / nobilissimus [Caesar] / princeps iuventu[ris]. The text of this stone (which is now lost) is based on one transcription, published by J.M. Delamure in 1874. It is odd to find *imperator* after the rest of the standard formula, and given Delamure's text in line 4, *PROCOOS PRIM*, we may suspect that he miscopied here. The other stones which Walser restores similarly to this one (cf. below 185a) are all entirely fragmentary, and thus not good parallels. Nor is there any other stone that would offer a truly similar text. See: 46, 52-4, 58, 165, 168-73, 178, 181, 183-200, 202-9.*

154. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8866/XVII 317⁴⁷

155. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4630 (= 11339)

156. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8076

157. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3740

158. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5985/*IBR* 461

159. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14354.5

160. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1981, 152 no. 4 (i)

⁴⁷Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores the third tribunician iteration to line 4 of this stone.

161. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3739

162. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. fil.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10203/*ILS* 491; *CIL* VIII 10215; Salama 1951-52, 235-6 no. 1; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 168-9 no. 16

163. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. (?) Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. (?) cos. Germ. Dac. (?) max. Sarm. max. C. Iul. Ver. Max. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. (?) max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. (?) Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Pi. Fel. Aug. (?) pont. (?) max. Dac. max. Sarm. (?) max. fortissimi princ. (?)*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4649 (= 6201)/*CPL* 673⁴⁸

XII. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group C

164. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 117; *BMCRE* VI 228; *Gnechi* II p. 86, 1

165. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. (?) cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8887/*XVII* 340⁴⁹

⁴⁸This stone is published in all three places with different readings. I cannot locate a photo. I base my reconstruction of the titulature on *CIL* II 6201, but have little confidence that the stone actually had this text. So far as I can determine, the stone has not been seen since the middle of the last century.

⁴⁹*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iuflius / Verus Max[iminus] / Pius Fel[icitas] Aug(ustus) [p]ont[ifex] / m[ar]fax(imus) trib[unicia] pot[estate] II [imp(erator) ?/co(n)sul] prfoco(n)s(ul) p[ater] p[atriae] et / C(aius) Iuflius Verjus / [Max]im[us] n[ob]ilissimus Caes(ar)....* Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) would restore this stone as 185a below; but, I think the restoration suggested by the original *CIL* editors is better. See also above 42.

166. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Dac. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Parth. max. et victor Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Dac. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Parth. max. et victor tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p. fil.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1176⁵⁰

167. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. dd. indulgentissimi*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 14110; *AE* (1973) 389

168. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Germ. max. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos. imp. II et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. dd. Inv. Aug. fil. Germ. max.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11316⁵¹

169. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1973) 415/*ILJug* II 1012

170. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 8060

171. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. imp. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 14216.19/*IDR* II 589

172. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 700

⁵⁰*{C(aio) Iulio Vero Maximo / nobilissimo Caesari} / p[er]f[ec]t[us] i[mp]er[ator] luvent[us] Dacico} / m[ar]fax(imo) Germ(anico) m[ar]fax(imo) Sarmat[ico] / m[ar]fax(imo) Parth[ico] max(imo) et vic[tori] / Im[per]atoris C(aii) Iul[ii] Veri Max[iminus] Pii / [Felicitas Aug(usti)] Dacic(i) m[ar]fax(im) / Germ(anici) max(im) Sam(atici) m[ar]fax(im) Parthic(i) / max(im) et victoris trib[unicia] p[ot]est[ate] II / co(n)sul[us] [...] p[atri]s p[atri]ae filio.*

⁵¹This stone is somewhat damaged, but this appears to be the proper reading.

173. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. Dac. Germ. Sarm. imp. max.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3736 (=10649)

174. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11341;⁵² *EE* II 911/*CIL* III 11342

175. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8984-8989/XVII 453-853

176. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *CIL* XVI 146 (intus)

177. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1912) 59/*CIL* XVI 146 (extrinsecus)

178. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6547/*RIBW* 422⁵⁴

⁵²The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.

⁵³These stones are all fragmentary, but by using them in conjunction it seems possible to derive the given titulature and to restore them all accordingly.

⁵⁴/{*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius] Ver[us] Maximinus / [P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) po[n]t(ifex) m[ar]x(inus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III / [imp(erator) co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae)] pr[ox]o c[on]s(ul) et / [C(aius) Iulius Verus] Maxi[mus] no[n]b(ilissimus) Caes(ar) / [Germ(anicus) m[ar]x(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus)...*}

179. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Parth. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8863/XVII 315

180. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IDR* V 250 bis⁵⁵

181. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III imp. II cos. I p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 47316

182. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Dac. max. imp. (?)*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 66457

183. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. imp. III p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10052 (=15103)

184. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. IV p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1966) 217

⁵⁵/{*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Vero Maximinus] Pio Felici Invicto Aug(usti) [Germ(anico) max(imo) Dac(icu) max(imo) S[arm]ai(ico) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) et / [C(aius) Iulius Vero Maximus] no[n]b(ilissimo) Caes(ar) G[erm]anico) max(imus) Dacico [ma]x(imus) Sarmat(ico) max(imo)...*}

⁵⁶Stylo 1974, 518 n. 5 argues that the tribunician and *imperator* iteration numbers on this stone are reversed.

⁵⁷This stone is very poorly inscribed, and the reading is highly conjectural.

185. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. pax. tr. pot. imp. IV cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. Dacc. Germ. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3732

185a. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. procos. p. p. imp. V (?) et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8869/XVII 321; *CIL* XIII 8870/ XVII 322; *CIL* XIII 8874/XVII 326⁵⁸

186. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. III imp. V pont. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1926) 138/IRT 925

187. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10021; *EE* vii 599/*CIL* VIII 10025 (=21920); *CIL* VIII 10075 (=22056)/*CILB* 471; *CIL* VIII 10083 (=22073); *EE* vii 568/*CIL* VIII 22020; *CIL* VIII 22123; *AE* (1905) 179; *AE* (1912) 23/*ILAT* 650/IRT 924; *IRT* 933-4, 936, 946, 967

188. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. p. p. Germ. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8940/XVII 36759

⁵⁸Of these stones, the first retains the most titulature, and is restored thus by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), *[Imp(erator) Caesar C(aius) Iul(ius) / Ver]sus [Maximinus] / P(ius) Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) / p(ontifex) m(aximus) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III / co(n)sul] / procons(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) imp(erator) V et / C(aius) Iul(ius) V[er]sus [Maximus nob(ilissimus) / Caes(ar)] princps [i]uvent(utis)].* As can be seen, this formula is questionable. See also above 40.

⁵⁹The *imperator* iteration is restored.

189. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. fil eius*

Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7612/IDR V 223; *AE* (1974) 572/ISM I 32060

190. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *AE* (1958) 194/ILTG 481/*CIL* XVII 484⁶¹

191. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. Germ. Dacc. Sarm. max.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 764/*CIL* III 10639; *AE* (1969/70) 494

192. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. Germ. Dacc. Sarm. max.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 701

193. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. pont. max.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3722

194. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4816

⁶⁰[imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) Venus Maximinus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus) pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) III (?) imp(erator) V (?) co(n)sul proco(n)sul et C(aius) Iul(ius) Verus Maximus nobiliss(imus) / C(aius) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus) fil(ius) / eius. The restoration is based on *CIL* III 7612.

⁶¹The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.

195. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. fil. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5559/König 1970, 132/*CIL* XVII 170⁶²

196. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. Dacc. Sarm. max.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3708

197. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. VI C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10047/ILS 488; *EE* vii 573/*CIL* VIII 22030⁶³

198. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. VI cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes. n.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 621/RIB 1553⁶⁴

⁶²*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) / Verus Max(iminus) Pi(ius) F(elix) / Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) / max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) pont(ifex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) [p(otestate)] / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) / max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) / p(ater) p(atriae) / eti lmp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) Iul(i) Veri / imp(erator) V [co(n)sul] proc(onsul) p(ater) p(atriae) / eti lmp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) Iul(i) Veri / Max(iminus) Pi(i) [F(elix) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)] / max(imus) [S]arm(atici) max(imus) Dac(ic) max(im) / Iul(ius) / C(aius) Iul(ius) V[er]i[nus Max(iminus) Germ(anicus)] / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus) [Dac(icus) max(imus)] / nobilis[si]mifus Caesar.*

⁶³Only fragments of Maximus' titulature remain on this stone. I have assumed the stone to read like *CIL* VIII 10047, and thus placed it here.

⁶⁴*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) G(aio) Iul(i) Vero / [Maximinus Pi(i) F(elici) Aug(usto) Ge]rmanico max(imo) / [Dac(ico) max(imo) Sarm(atico) max(imo) pon(ifici)] max(imo) / [trib(unicia) p(otestate) III imp(erator) VI co(n)sul] p(roco)n(s)uli / [p(atri) p(atriae) et G(aio) Iul(i) Vero] Maxi[mo] Ger(manico) max(imo) Dac(ico) max(imo) Sarm(atico) / max(imo) nob(ilissimo) Caes(ar) n(ostro).*

199. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. VI p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 483465

200. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. VI p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4826

201. *Max. et Maxim. Augg. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 119; *BMCRE* VI 229; *Gnechi* II p. 86, 2

202. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. IV imp. V. cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 6811/ILS 489⁶⁵

203. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. IV (?) imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 420/IRG III 66⁶⁶

⁶⁵I have restored *P. F. Aug.* to the end of this formula on the basis of *CIL* II 4816 (194 above) and *CIL* II 4826 (200 below).

⁶⁶The names of both emperors have been erased, but the rest of the inscription is intact.

⁶⁷The inscription reads, *trib. potestatis (sic) D. E.*, and the editors of *IRG* have suggested IV.

204. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- EN 15/ILER 1985/IRMN 7;⁶⁸ EN 62/ILER 1986/IRMN 869

205. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 6228⁷⁰

206. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4756/ILS 490, CIL II 4757, 4758,⁷¹ 4858, 4870, 4874,⁷² 4886; AE (1966) 218, (1971) 201⁷³

207. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4788

⁶⁸The editors of IRMN note that *imp. VII* is here to be expected, not *imp. II*, which is in fact what appears on the stone.

⁶⁹This inscription was meant to be the same as IRMN 7. However, here the stonemason got the *imperator* iteration right (i.e. VII), though in line 3 he labels Maximinus *Parthicus maximus* rather than *Ducitus*. That he meant the latter is fairly clear, since that is what he assigns to Maximus.

⁷⁰CIL prints nothing after (line 8), *iuvent. f. d. n. Imp.*; and it is unclear whether the inscription stops here, or whether there was more that now cannot be read. I have assumed the latter, and restored accordingly.

⁷¹This stone is badly damaged, and I have restored much of it.

⁷²Again, the stone is badly damaged, and I have restored most of it.

⁷³The tribunician iteration number must here be assumed, and the *imperator* iteration is partially restored. I might note also that AE has (lines 11 ff.), ..*filius dom(ini) [n(ostri)] / [Im]peratoris* *Caes(aris) Iuli* *Veri Maximini* etc. I believe that the restoration of *Caes(aris)* is probably wrong, and thus have substituted *C(aii)*.

208. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. tr. pot. VI imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. Aug. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4853

209. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. IX pont. max. Germ. max. imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug. fil.*

Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- ILJug II 1022⁷⁴

210. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*

Inscriptions: Aquitania -- AE (1892) 55/CIL XIII 8953/XVII 471⁷⁵

211. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*

Inscriptions: Aquitania -- CIL XIII 8954/XVII 472

212. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. eius*

Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- Hollenstein 1979, 42-476

XIV. Maximinus and Maximus, Greek Titles, Group A

213. οἱ κράτιστοι Μαξ. καὶ ὄυδες Μαξιμ.

Papyri: Bureth p. 111, no. 2 (1)

⁷⁴As A. and J. Šašel note, *tr. pot. IX* is a mistake, and should probably have been *tr. pot. III*.

⁷⁵It is clear that *cos. III* in this and the following stone (211 below) is a stonemason's error. Obviously intended is *tr. pot. III*. Cf. the remarks in CIL ad loc.

⁷⁶*Cos. IV* is impossible, and it may be that this was intended as the tribunician iteration number.

214. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισαρ. οἱ κυρρ.
Papyri: *P. Lond.* III 947 IVa, 1-3

215. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μαξ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *CIG* 5069/*IGRR* I 1356

216. Μαξ. καὶ Μαξιμ. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 3 (1)

217. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μαξ. καὶ Μαξιμ. Ευσσ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 8 (1)

218. ΓΓ. Ιουλλ. Ουηρρ. Μαξ. καὶ Μαξιμ. Καισαρ. οἱ κυρρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 4 (1)

219. ΓΓ. Ιουλλ. Ουηρρ. Μαξ. καὶ Μαξιμ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Δακκ. μεγγ. Σαρμμ. μεγγ.
Καισαρ. οἱ κυρρ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 7-11 and 3107, 2-5 (with υἱὸς after Μάξιμος)

220. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Ευσσ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 1 (1); *O. Amst.* 68, 1-3

221. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. υἱὸς τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ.
Ουηρ. Μαξ.
Inscriptions: *Moesia Inf.* -- *AE* (1927) 63

222. Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ. υἱός
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1967) 440/*SEG* 24 (1969) 645

223. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ ὁ γενναιώτατος υἱὸς
αὐτοῦ Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* II,2 3420 (=III,1 538)

224. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ
ιερώτατος Καισ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 2 (3)⁷⁷

225. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ μεγίστου
καὶ θειότατου Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1926) 98/*IGBulg* 638

226. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ
μεγίστου καὶ θειότατου Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ....ὁ τῆς
οικουμένης δεσπότης (i.e. Maximus)
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1927) 74/*SEG* 3.2 (1929) 509/*IGBulg* 1515

227. Αυτ. Καισ. Μαξ. καὶ Μαξιμ.
Coins: Asia (Phocaea) -- *SNGAul* 2147

228. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ.
Coins: Cilicia (Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5565

229. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 24 (1969) 631/*AE* (1972) 557

230. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *SEG* 26 (1976/77) 1261/*IK* 14, 1107

231. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 12 (1955) 354⁷⁸

⁷⁷*Bureth* prints the formula as, οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες καὶ. However, Sijpesteijn 1984, 75-6 demonstrates that the three papyri containing this formula actually read, Αὐτοκτάτορες. Hence, Maximus is not styled Αὐτοκράτορες in these papyri.

⁷⁸Αὐτοκράτορες Καισαρεῖ / Γ. Ιουλιαν Οὐ[ντρε] / Μαξιμην[Σε] / Βαστ[ο]υ Κ[αὶ] Γ. Ιουν[η] / λιου Ο<ύγ>[ρου] / Μάξιμου Σ[ε] / Βαστ[ο]υ. Just why Maximus' titulature was cast in the genitive is not clear. Possibly the dedication was to Maximinus as father of Maximus, and more should be restored in line 4.

232. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ
ἱερώτατος Καισ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 5 (3);⁷⁹ *P. Wisc.* I 15, 13-6

233. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ
ἱερώτατος Καισ. Γερμ. μεγ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 5 (1)

234. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ.
Μαξιμ. Γερμ. μεγ. ὁ ιερώτατος Καισ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 6 (1)

235. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ.
Μαξιμ. Σαρμ. μεγ. Καισ. Γερμ. μεγ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 6 (1)

236. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Γερμ. μεγ. Δακ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ.
καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Γερμ. μεγ. Δακ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ. ὁ ιερώτατος Καισ. Σεβ.
υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 7 (8); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 23-32; *CPR VII* 11, 4-6 and
16-8

237. ὁ τοῦ θεοφύλεστάτου κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
παῖς Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.

Papyrus: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 4 (1)

238. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Inscriptions: *Thrace* -- *IGRR* I 1474/*IGBulg* 1374

239. οἱ κυρρ. Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.

Inscriptions: *Thrace* -- *AE* (1892) 6/*IGRR* I 692/*IGBulg* 2033;⁸⁰ *IGRR* I 691/*IGBulg*
2049

⁷⁹On *BGU* IV 1062, see P.J. Sijpesteijn and W.H.M. Liesker, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 289.

⁸⁰This inscription is almost entirely restored.

240. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.
Inscriptions: *Thrace* -- *IGRR* I 778⁸¹

241. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισσ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. καὶ Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Σεββ.
Inscriptions: *Arabia* -- *IGRR* III 1213

⁸¹·Αγαθῆι τύχηι. / 'Υπὲρ ὑγείας τῶν / κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτούς τοὺς τοκρατόρων Γαῖου / [Γαῖας] Ιουλίου Μαξιμίου / Σεββαστοῦ καὶ Γαῖας Ιουλίου Οὐνίου Μαξιμοῦ--. This is the restored text as printed in *IGRR*. It seems to me, though, that we should expect Maximinus also to have been called *Venus*, and that Maximus was labeled *Caesar*.

Gordians I and II

(ca. mid to late March - late April 238)

M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Gord(ianus) Semp(ronianus) Afr(icanus)
Sen(ior) and Jun(ior)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 26.1-2 repente Antonius Gordianus Africae proconsul ab exercitu princeps apud Thydrī oppidum absens fit.

idem 27.1 Iisdem per Africam diebus milites Gordianum, Gordiani filium...Augustum creavere...

Eutrop. 9.2 Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis, quippe cuius pater, senior Gordianus, consensu militum, cum proconsulatum Africæ gerere, Maximino imperante princeps fuisse electus.

Herodian 7.5.7 ...συνδραμόντων ἡδη καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φύη, Σεβαστὸν Γορδιανὸν ἀναγορεύειν.

idem 7.5.8 τῷ τε κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ (sc. Γορδιανοῦ I) ὄνυματι προσθέντες Ἀφρικανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ.

idem 7.7.2 ἡ τε σύγκλιτος συνελθοῦσα πρὶν τὸ ἀκριβές εἰδέναι περὶ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου, ἐκ τῆς παρούσης τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα πιστεύσαντες τὸν Γορδιανὸν ἄμα τῷ σινῷ Σεβαστοὺς ἀναγορεύουσι, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμάς ἀνατρέπουσι.

HA Maximin. 14.3 et primo quidem invitius Gordianus purpuram sumpserat; postea vero, cum vidit neque filio neque familiae suaे tutum id esse, volens suscepit imperium et appellatus est omni<bu>s Afris Augustus cum filio apud oppidum Thysdrum.

idem 14.5 appellati etiam Gordianus senex et Gordianus iuvenis a senatu Augusti[s].

idem 16.1 Senatus consulti autem hoc fuit {exemplum}: cum ventum esset in aedem Cast[er]forum di<e> VI. kl. Iuliarum, acceptas letteras Iunius Silanus consul [i]lex Africa Gordiani imperatoris, patris patr<i>ae, proconsulis recitavit..

HA Gord. 9.3 ff. appellato igitur Gordiano imperatore iuvenes...ipsum etiam Gordianum Africanum appellaverunt. addunt quidam Africani cognomentu<m> Gordiano Idcirco inditum, non quod in Africa imperare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia originem traheret. in plurimis autem libris invenio et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, in alii vero Antonios. post hoc Carthaginem ventum...filiusque legatus patris, exemplo Scipionum...pari potestate succinctus est.

idem 11.4 ff. p. c., Gordiani duo, pater et filius, ambo ex corsib<us>, unus vester pro consule, alter vester legatus, magno Afrorum consilio imperatores sunt appellati..Gordianos Augustos appellamus. Gordianos principes agnoscimus..

idem 16.4 Hic exitus duorum Gordianorum fuit, quos ambos senatus Augustos appellavit et postea inter divos reiulit.

idem 17.1 filius (Gordiani I), qui cum pare et ab Afris et a senatu Augustus appellatus est...

idem 19.7 denique etiam senatus libertissime illum (Gordianum II) Augustum appellavit...

HA Max. Balb. 4.1-2 Prima igitur relatio princ<ip>um fuit, ut duo Gordiani divi appellarentur.

Zonaras 12.16 ἐντεθεν ὀγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἐκεὶ ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ τινα τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ὄνδρα πρεσβύτην κεκλημένον Γορδιανὸν καὶ ἀκοντα κατασχόντες, διάδημά τε τούτῳ περιτιθέασι καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύουσι καὶ ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτοκράτορά τε καὶ Αὔγουστον.

II. Gordian I, Latin Titles, Group A¹

1. *divus Gord avus Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *ILA*g I 1267
2. *Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 15-6²
3. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4-6, 13; *BMCRE* VI 8-9, 11; *HCC* III 2-3
4. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 3, 9-12, 14; *BMCRE* VI 5-7, 10, 12-7a; *HCC* III 4, 6-14

III. Gordian I, Latin Titles, Group B³

5. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-2; *BMCRE* VI 1-3; *HCC* III 1

¹For Gordians I and II as *divi*, see also sections X-XIV under Gordian III below.

²These coins are both rather odd, and are not (to my knowledge) at present held in any published collection. One is listed by Cohen, but he considered it possibly a fake. They may well be fakes, or the readings of the legends might be in error.

³*CIL* VI 2009.26-7 records the following (presumably) for Gordian I, though this titulature is entirely restored: *Imp(eratore) Caes(arem) M(arci) Antonium Gordianum Africanum Aug(ustum) pont(ificem) max(imum) / trib(unic)al pot(estate) co(n)s(ul)em II p(atriae) pro co(n)s(ul)em*. The first consulate may have been a *suffect* sometime during the reign of Alexander Severus. Cf. *PIR*² A 833 and Degrassi 1952, 278. Gordian II is given the same titulature, again entirely restored, but without a consular iteration (2009.28-9). It is usually presumed that he too held the *suffect* consulate under Alexander Severus. Cf. *PIR*² A 834 and Degrassi 1952, 279.

6. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 7-8; *BMCRE* VI 4; *HCC* III 5
7. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 342/*CIL* VIII 12521/*XIII* 592/*ILS* 493/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 2⁴

IV. Gordian I, Greek Titles, Group A

8. *Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Αὔρ. Εὐσ.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2598-2605
9. *Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Ρωμ. πατήρ Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης*
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1890) 98/*IGRR* III 791a/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 35

V. Gordian II, Latin Titles, Group A

10. *divus Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* III p. 184⁶
11. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-3; *BMCRE* VI 19-20; *HCC* III 1-4

⁴This inscription was found in Bordeaux in 1828, but was brought there seemingly from someplace in Africa. See the comments of the *CIL* editors ad. loc.

⁵The inscription breaks after *πατήρ*, and I have restored the rest on the basis of *AE* (1890) 99/*IGRR* III 791b (17 below). Both are dedicatory inscriptions set up by the *gerousia* of Perge.

⁶This coin is tooled and possibly false. See the note in *HCC* ad. loc.

12. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4-8; *BMCRE* VI 21-27, 29, 31-32; *HCC* III 5-8

VI. Gordian II, Latin Titles, Group B

13. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 9⁷

14. *Imp. Ces. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 10; *BMCRE* VI 18

15. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. fil. Aug. Semp. Rom. Afr. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1971) 475/Loriot 1978, 72 ff.

VII. Gordian II Greek Titles, Group A

16. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Ρωμ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Prymnessos) -- *SNGAul* 3946

17. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Ρωμ. Αφρ. αὐλός Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. σωτήρ
τῆς οἰκουμένης
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1890) 99/*IGRR* III 791b/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 4

⁷This coin, along with *RIC* IV.2 10 (below 14), may be a hybrid (cf. *RJC* ad. loc.).

VIII. Gordiani I and II, Latin Titles, Group A

18. *divi Gordd.*
vid. inf. Pupienus & Balbinus, 23-6 & Gordian III, 207 ff.

19. *Impp. dd. nn. Gordd. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XV 7338a/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 1

20. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. Sen. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. P. (sic) Iun. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. dd. indulgentissimi*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- Loriot 1978, 81 nos. 5, 6⁸

IX. Gordiani I and II, Greek Titles, Group A

21. δάβους Γορδδ.
Inscriptions: Italy -- *SEG* 4 (1929) 146/*ILCV* 3995c

22. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Αφρ. Εὐσ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80

23. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Ρωμ. Σεμπ. Αφρ. καὶ Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Ρωμ. Σεμπ. Αφρ.
Καῖσ. αἱ κύρρ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107, 12-15

⁸No. 6 breaks after *et Imp.* Since both it and number 5 were found near Sungurlu, and since both are milestones, it seems safe to restore 6 based on 5. The "P" after *Afr.* in Gordian II's titulature is probably a stonemason's error.

Pupienus and Balbinus
(ca. late April - early August 238)

D(echus) Cael(ius) Cal(vinus) Balb(inus)
M(arcus) Cl(odius) Pup(ienus) Max(imus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 26.7 *At senatus metuens, ne nullis rectoribus specie captae urbis atrociora acciderent, primo potestatum vices, mox conscriptis iunionibus Clodium Pupienum Caecilium Balbinum Caesares constituit.*

Eutrop. 9.2 *Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis...*

Herodian 7.10.3 *...διακριθεισῶν τε καὶ τοῦ πλειστου τῆς γνώμης Μάξιμον τε καὶ Βαλβίνον ἀνεπόντος αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν.*

idem 7.10.5 *τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκείνους ἀνειπούσης Σεβαστοί τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἡ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτούς ἐκδόμησεν.*

HA *Maximin.* 20.1-2 *Haec ubi Romam nuntiata sunt senatus...Maximum... <et Balbinum>...imperatores creavit. quibus a populo Augustis appellatis...*

HA *Gord.* 22.1 *Post mortem duorum Gordianorum senatus...ex viginti viris...Puppienum sive Maximum et Clodium Balbirum Augustos appellavit...*

HA *Max. Balb.* 2.9-10 *post haec adclamatum est uno consensu: "aequum est, iustum est. sententiae Sabini omnes consentimus. Maxime et Balbine Augusti, di vos serveni."*

idem 8.1 *Decretis ergo omnibus imperatoriis honoribus atque insignibus, percepta tribunicia potestate, iure proconsulari, pontificatu[m] maximo, patris etiam patriae nomine inierunt imperium.*

Zonaras 12.16 *...δύο προβάλλονται στρατηγοὶ Μάξιμον τε καὶ Ἀλβίνον, καὶ ὅμφα τῇ βουλῇ συναριθμουμένους. τινὲς δὲ Καίσαρας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ιστόρησαν ἀναγορευθῆναι, μήτη παθούσης τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ Γορδίανου.*

Zosimus 1.14.2 *Ἐπει οὐδὲ πᾶσι ταῦτα ἐδόκει, προχειρίζονται τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρας εἴκοσι στρατηγίας ἐμπείρους· ἐκ τούτων αὐτοκράτορας ἐλόμενοι δύο, Βαλβίνον καὶ Μάξιμον...*

II. Balbinus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Balb. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 1-4, 7-15a, 19-25; BMC^{RE} VI 1-8, 18-25, 33-41, 67-76; HCC III 2-7, 11-22

III. Balbinus, Latin Titles, Group C

2. *Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Balb. Aug. poni. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 5-6, 16-18; BMC^{RE} VI 26-32; HCC III 1, 8-10

IV. Balbinus, Greek Titles, Group A

3. *Aυτ. Καισ. Δ. Κατλ. Βαλβ. Ευσ.*

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; KAK 2612-3

4. *Aυτ. Καισ. Δ. Βαλβ. Αυγ.*

Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- SNGAul 412-17, 6958

5. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Κατλ. Βαλβ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- SNGAul 7117

6. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Κατλ. Βαλβ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; KAK 2609-11

7. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Κατλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. μέγιστος ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότης
Inscriptions: Thrace -- AE (1900) 23/IGRR I 722/IGBulg 1510

V. Balbinus, Greek Titles, Group B

8. Αυτ. Καισ. Κατλ. Βαλβ. Σεβ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- SNGAul 6033-4

VI. Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group A

9. *Imp. Caes. Pup. Max. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 9-11, 21-3; BMCRE VI 82-96; HCC III 7-9, 27-8

10. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl Pup. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 1-4, 7-14, 17-20, 22-5; BMCRE VI 9-17, 42-9, 56-61, 77-81; HCC III 2-6, 12-26; Gnechii II p. 87, 1

VII. Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group C

11. *Imp. Caes. Pup. Max. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- BMCRE VI 97

12. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 5-6, 15-16; BMCRE VI 50-55; HCC III 1, 10-11

VIII. Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group A

13. Κλ. Πουτ. Μαξ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- SNGAul 6959

14. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουτ. Ευσ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; KAK 2606-8

15. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουτ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- SNGAul 806-9

16. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουτ. Μαξ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- SNGAul 8374
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80

IX. Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group B

17. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουτ. Σεβ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- SNGAul 6035

X. Balbinus and Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group C

18. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10343; *EE* vii 673/*CIL* VIII 22620/IA¹³¹

XI. Balbinus and Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group A

19. Πουπ. Βαλβ.
Inscriptions: Italy -- *SEG* 4 (1929) 148/*ILCV* 3995a

20. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καιστ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Μαξ. καὶ Δ. Καιλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσο. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112 (1)

XII. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group A

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Clod. Pup. Max. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fell. Aug. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *EE* v 77²

¹I have restored *pater patriae* to this inscription in conformity with *CIL* VIII 10343.

²The names and titles of Pupienus and Balbinus have been erased from this stone, and the restoration is that suggested by Mommsen (based on *CIL* VIII 10342, 10343, & 10365).

22. *dd. nn. Imp. Caess. M. Cl. Pup. et D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Augg. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1934) 230

XIII. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group B

23. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. nepos divisorum Gordianorum*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1912) 158; *CIL* VIII 10342³

XIV. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group C

24. *Impp. Caess. M. Cl. Pup. et D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fell. Augg. pont. max. tr. pot. I pp. pp. cos. II procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nepos divisorum Gordianorum*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1937) 32

25. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. nepos divisorum Gordianorum*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1951) 48; *CIL* VIII 10365/*ILS* 496

26. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nepos divisorum Gordianorum*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 660/*CIL* VIII 22586

³The milestones from Mauretania often have *P. I. AVG* for Gordian III. This is sometimes resolved as *Pius*; however, I think that *princeps iuventutis* is the more likely resolution. Thus, I have given it throughout.

XV. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Greek Titles, Group A

27. Αυττ. Καισσ. Μ. Κλ. Μαξ. (?) καὶ Δ. Καιλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ. καὶ Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσ. Παπύρι: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 1 (1)⁴

28. Αυτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καῖσ. Δ. Καιλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσ. Παπύρι: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 2 (2); *O. Leid.* 259, 1-8⁵

Gordian III

(early August 238 - late January/early February 244)

M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Gord(ianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Eutrop. 9.2.3 miles ei tumulum vicesimo miliario a Circesio...aedificavit, exequias Romam revexit, ipsum Divum appellavit.

Herodian 7.10.8-9 ...δεικνύντες τοῖς ὅχλαις Γορδιανοῦ τε ἔγγονον λέγοντες καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ προσηγορίᾳ ἀποκαλούμντες, ἀνάγοντιν ἐξ τὸ Καπετώλιον εὐφημισθεντον ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου καὶ φυλλοβαλούμενον. τῇς τε συγκλήτου Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ἀποδεικόστη...

idem 8.8.7 καὶ κατοιπόντες τὰ σώματα ἐρριμένα ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου, ὀράμενοι δὲ τὸν Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα ὅντα, αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀναγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρόν οὐλον οὐχ εὑρού...

HA Maximin. 16.7 "nepoti Gordiani praeturam decemimus, nepoti Gordiani consulatum spondemus. nepos Gordiani Caesar appelletur. tertius Gordianus praeturam accipiat."

idem 20.2-3 quibus a populo Augustis appellatis per milites et eundem populum etiam parvulus nepos Gordiani Caesar est dictus.

HA Gord. 22.2-3 tunc populus et milites Gordianum parvulum... petiverunt, ut Caesar appellaretur; raptusque ad senatum atque inde in contione positus idumento imperatorio tectus Caesar est nuncupatus.

idem 22.5-6 ...cum extinctis Maximinis Maximus et Balbinus militari seditione interempti essent, qui biennio imperaverant, Gordianus adulescens, qui Caesar eatenus fuerat, et a militibus et populo et a senatu et ab omnibus gentibus ingenti amore, ingenti studio et gratia Augustus est appellatus.

⁴I believe that Prof. Sijpesteijn will suggest reading [Πουπινός] rather than [Μάξιμος].

⁵This ostraca actually has Pupienus' full name, viz. (line 3): [Μάρκου Κλαδίου] Που[π]ιμνού Μάξιμου.

idem 24.2 "domino filio et Augusto Misitheus sacer et praefectus."

idem 25.1 "imperator Gordianus Augustus Misitheo patri et praefecto."

idem 31.3 *appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter deos rettulit.*

HA Max. Balb. 3.3-5 deinde ad rostra populum convocarunt. ubi cum orationem de senatus sententia et de sua electione habuissent, p. R. cum milibus, qui forte convenerant, ad clamavit, "Gordianum Caesarem onnes rogamus." hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filio, qui est in Africa occisus, annum agens aetatis quartum decimum, ut plerique dicunt. qui statim raptus est et novo genere senatus consulti, cum eadem die senatus consultum factum esset, inductus in curiam Cesar est appellatus.

idem 14.7 *inter haec Gordianus Caesar sublatus in milibus imperator est appellatus id est Augustus, quia non erat alius in praesenti...*

Zosimus 1.16.1 Τῶν δέ βίᾳ χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ πλειν ἀπολογένων, Γορδιανῷ θατέρου τούτων ὅντι παιδὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν τὴν γερουσίαν παρέδωκεν...

II. Gordian Caesar

1. *M. Ant. Gord. Caes.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 1-3; *BMCRE* VI 17a, 62-6; *HCC* III p. 191

2. *M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 181/*CIL* III 6934

III. Latin Titles, Group A

3. *d. n. Gord.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 218

4. *Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* v 1044/*CIL* VIII 21557

5. *M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Raetia -- *AE* (1977) 594
Dacia -- *AE* (1971) 381

6. *Gord. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1135/*ILS* 4742/*RIB* 1074/*RGAI* 1864
Numidia -- *AE* (1967) 563

7. *d. n. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 6972; *AE* (1889) 106/*EE* vii 1211/*CIL* XIV 4398/*ILS* 2159
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1974) 522/*RIU* IV 966
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3021

8. *M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *Pais* 961

9. *d. n. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 7281
Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1896) 116¹
Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* IV 106
Syria -- *CIL* III 132²

¹The inscription actually reads (line 4), *Gordiani p. p. Aug.* I take this to be a stone cutter's error, and emend to the given reading, i.e. *P(i) F(elicis)*.

²*Filius Felix* is here restored.

10. *d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4607; *EE* viii p. 414, no. 143/*ERPS* 128
 Britain -- *CIL* VII 346/*RIB* 899/*RISC* 35
 Italy -- *CIL* V 5124/*ILS* 5092; *CIL* IX 4780
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 858; *AE* (1971) 392/*IMSM* 53

11. *d. n. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 423/*ILS* 4287

12. *d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1095 (cf. 31239)/*ILS* 503; *CIL* XI 4353

13. *Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *Patriarca* 1935, 133
 Noricum -- *CIL* III 5709/*Grilli* 1960, 224/*AE* (1962) 309

14. *Imp. Gord.*

Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 4505

15. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 7203³
 Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1927) 64/*ISM* 1347
 Coins: Macedonia (Dium) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 158
 Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1477

16. *Imp. d. n. Gord.*

Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7758⁴
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 13425/*RJU* I 47/*MRSS* 10

³The stone breaks after (lines 5-6), *[I]mp(eratoris) M(arci) A[ntonii] / Gordiani*... .

⁴The stone is badly damaged, and breaks on the right after (line 1), *Imp. d. n. Gordiano?* . . .

17. *Imp. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3936 (= 10820)/*ILS* 7116/*AJug* 500
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 89-90, 205-55; *Hunter* III p. 242, 35; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 126-7

18. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Belgica -- *ILBelg* 46 bis

19. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 18, 20

20. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1935) 19
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 1159
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 63-7, 70-1, 72a, 75, 78-9, 83-6, 95, 97-101, 108-13, 116-8, 120-134b, 136, 140-67, 286-290c, 293, 297-300, 309-319, 323-338; *HCC* III 26-8, 41-73, 101-4, 123-64; *Gnechi* I p. 5, 1, p. 47, 1 ff.; II p. 87, 1 ff.

Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 15-6, 8-9, 12-6; *Hunter* I p. 407, 5-11 *SNGCop Thrace* 143-8

Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 17, 19, 21; *SNGCop Thrace* 547-49

Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 46-7

Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 208-19, 227, 229-35, 237-42, 244, 247a-48, 248; *HCC* III 165-70

Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 280-1, 423-30; *Hunter* III p. 270, 58; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 371-25

21. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *ILA* 17/*CIL* XIII 511/*ILS* 4126⁵
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 1094

⁵The obverse legends of both coins are problematic. No. 371 (no photo) is published with the reading, IMP... It is possible to read on no. 372, IMP GORDIANVS.

⁶See also below 100 for the second part of this stone.

22. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12724

23. *d. n. Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6763⁷

24. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1183/*RIB* 2295; *CIL* VII 1184
Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 1614
Italy -- *CIL* IX 1458

25. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1017

26. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 344/*ILS* 502/*RIB* 897

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1934) 101/*ISM* I 3488
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 15, 2
Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 6; *SNGCop Thrace* 882
Macedonia (Dium) -- *Hunter* I p. 361, 2; *SNGCop Macedonia* 159⁹
Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* pp. 94-5, 42-3; *Hunter* I p. 365,
24-6; *SNGCop Macedonia* 286-7
Lycia (Crema) -- *SNGAul* 5105-8
Lycia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4961
Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5390

28. *Inv. et super omnes indulgentissimus Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nob. princ.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *ILJug* II 503

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1098/*EE* ix p. 634/*CIL* VII 1159/*RIB* 2252
Italy -- *AE* (1921) 73; *AE* (1935) 128/*IGUR* 138
Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1972) 545
Macedonia -- *AE* (1940) 29
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-14, 34-6, 38-42, 44-5, 47-50, 254-63, 267-70,
272-75; *HCC* III 6-12, 14-22, 74-80, 84-97
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 15-6, 1, 3-7, 10; *Hunter* I
pp. 406-7, 1-4; *SNGCop Thrace* 136-42; *Gnechchi* I p. 48, 7; II p. 88,
10 ff.
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 16
Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 44; *Hunter* I p. 364, 23
Lycia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4951-60, 4962-8, 8571-9
Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5391
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 176-205, 219a-221, 226a, 245, 247
Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *SNGCop Phoenicia* 122-3¹⁰

30. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Syria -- *ILS* 9416/*IGLS* 2716

31. *Imp. Caes. Gord. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 51-3, 55-8, 60-2, 277-9, 281-3, 285; *HCC* III 23-
4, 98-100
Thrace (Deultum) -- *Hunter* I p. 439, 5
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 222-3, 226, 228

32. *Imp. Caes. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 310/vii 116/*CIL* VIII 12250
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10387 (=22429)

⁷The stone reads (line 4), *[d(omin) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) G]ordiani Pi[us] [Felicitis] Aug(usti)*.

⁸The stone reads, *Imp(eratoris) Caesari / M(arco) Antioch(a) Gor/[d]jifano...*

⁹This coin is badly worn, and IMP C M ANT is only barely readable.

¹⁰No. 122 is worn, and only IMP CAES can clearly be read.

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2070/*ILER* 1279/*ILPG* 32
 Britain -- *CIL* VII 445/*ILS* 2620/*RIB* 1091; *CIL* VII 446/*ILS* 2621/*RIB* 1092; *CIL* VII 1149/*RIB* 22; *CIL* VII 1171/*RIB* 2269;¹¹ *RIB* 2234;¹² *RIB* 2289/*RISC* 164; *RIB* 2294¹³
 Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 7996
 Germania Sup. -- *AE* (1888) 80/*ILS* 1188¹⁴
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 130/*ILS* 2091; *CIL* VI 2113, 31375;¹⁵ *CIL* IX 2800; *CIL* XI 4352
 Pannonia Sup. -- *Allug* 586
 Dalmatia -- *AE* (1912) 130
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 1433/*IDR* III.2 266; *AE* (1972) 471¹⁶
 Thrace -- *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syll.*³ 888/*IGBulg* 2236¹⁷
 Bithynia -- *CIL* III 347 (=6996, cf. *EE* v 95)
 Asia -- *AE* (1937) 253
 Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6913, 12176¹⁸, 12198
 Lycia -- *DLPI* 90
 Arabia -- *AE* (1898) 17/*CIL* III 14149.31
 Egypt -- *AE* (1948) 12219

¹¹*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arco) A(ntonio) / Go(rdiano) ?*. This stone may be identical with that listed below, Decius 13.

¹²I have restored *Augustus*.

¹³*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) Marco / A(ntonio) Gordiano /* [—].

¹⁴[...]*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arco) A(ntonio) Gjordiani Pio [Felici Aug(usto)]*.

¹⁵*Im(p(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arco) A(ntonio Gordiano) / Pio [Felici Aug(usto)]*...).

¹⁶[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / [M(arco)] A(ntonio) Go/[d]ian/o P(o) F(elici) / [A]ug(usto)*...]

¹⁷See also below 35 and 180.

¹⁸[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / Marco A(ntonio) / Gor[d]ijano P(o) / Felici Au[gusto]*].

¹⁹See also 101 below.

Africa -- *AE* (1903) 239/*CIL* VIII 23195; *AE* (1973) 573/*IRT* 896²⁰, 942, 947

Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10695, 18026, 22507

Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10437

Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 42/*AE* (1953) 77/*AE* (1957) 201/*LAM* II 357; *AE* (1952) 43/*LAM* II 358²¹

Coins: Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAud* 5104

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 9 (1)

34. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 9963

35. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 110/*IRCP* 380

Thrace -- *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syll.*³ 888/*IGBulg* 2236²²

Africa -- *AE* (1911) 9/*JLAT* 432

Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 21523

Mauretania Ting. -- *CIL* VIII 21818/*ILM* 26/*LAM* II 68

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. optimus fortissimusque princ. n.*

Inscriptions: Cilicia -- *IC* 79

37. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184.52/*RRM* 51a

²⁰[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) M(arco) A(ntonio) Gordian/o Pio Felic(i) Aug(usto)*]. The inscription can be attributed to Gordian because he and Aviola are mentioned as consuls later in the stone. See below 47.

²¹*Imp. Caes.* is all that is readable on both of the last two inscriptions. See also 47 and 104 below for the dating formulae of these inscriptions.

²²See also above 33 and below 179.

38. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*²³
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 32552,²⁴ 36943
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 38/AE (1971) 36425
 Moesia Sup. -- *CIL* III 8154/EE ii 488/IMS I 24
 Bithynia -- *JK* 10,1 15
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 23065
 Numidia -- *AE* (1950) 62; *Marcellot-Jaubert* 1980, 167 no. 12²⁶; *CIL* VIII 2716, 10138

39. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1903) 94; *CIL* VIII 20487

40. *Gord. Aug. ... Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1577²⁷

41. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1096 (cf. 31239a)/*ILS* 504; *CIL* IX 3833/*ERM* 182
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8777/*ILS* 6888

42. *d. n. sanctissimus Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv.*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8411, 8710, 9233

²³This formula may be attested also by *ILTG* 483/*CIL* XVII 521; however, the stone is too mutilated to be read properly.

²⁴*Pro salutē Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Ant(oni) / Gordiani Pi. Fel(icis) Invicti A Jug(usti).* Whether to add *Invictus* or not in a case like this is the editor's choice, although inscriptions without it are more common.

²⁵This inscription was listed among the *falseae* in *CIL*, but has been rescued by I. I. Russu, *Acta Mus. Nap.* 3 (1966) 444-5.

²⁶I have restored *Felix Augustus* here. Note also that *Invictus* can precede or come after *Pius Felix*, and I have not distinguished between inscriptions where its position differs.

²⁷This inscription is fragmentary, and the titulature (aside from *Gordiana Aug.*) is conjectured.

IV. Latin Titles, Group ■

43. *Gord. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 11779/*ILS* 4856

44. *d. n. Gord. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 510/*ILS* 4127

45. *Gord. Aug. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2841 (*32547)

46. *d. n. Gord. Aug. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ii 322
 Germania Inf. -- *ILS* 4754
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 3020

47. *Imp. d. n. Gord. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 42/*AE* (1953) 77/*AE* (1957)
 201/*ILAM* II 357²⁸
 Africa -- *IRT* 896/*AE* (1973) 573²⁹

48. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos.*
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *Hunter* III pp. 241-2, 32-4

49. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1966) 338

²⁸See also above 33.

²⁹See also above 33.

50. *Imp. d. n. Gord. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 8207
Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7753/ILS 2349
Italy -- *CIL* VI 2797 (=32546); *CIL* XIV 461
Noricum -- *CIL* III 4800/ILS 4198/CIMRM 1438

51. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 827

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6738

53. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 168-9

54. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10205

55. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6030

56. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1909) 190

57. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 8018/ELRA 1430

58. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1902) 51/*Inscript. Ital.* X 1, 672/Alföldy 1984b, no. 15

³⁰[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari) / [M(arco) A]ntonio / [Gor]diano / [Pio Fe]lici Aug(usto) / [poni(fici)] maximo / [tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) (tertia) i]m[peratori] (tertium) / pat[ri]i patriae / co(n)s(ul) pro]c(o)n)s(uli). This is the restoration given in ELRA. The last three lines of the stone appear, however, actually to have read, [...] III V(?) / [...] patria [...] / c. Formi (ELRA ad loc.) takes what appears to be the Roman numeral five (in line 6) to be the central part of the letter M, and restores the rest as indicated. Still, the last three lines have seemed too questionable for proper restoration, thus I leave the stone here.

59. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1969/70) 637³¹
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22279/ILAlg I 3879³²

60. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9099/XVII 631; *CIL* XIII 9107/RSO 216/*CIL* XVII 639

61. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 3153

62. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11327

63. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. cos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3406/AE (1917/18) 8/ILER 1173/ILPG 25

64. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 1457, 2951; *CIL* XI 1177a
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10162 (=22224)

65. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p....d. n. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 25935

66. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4644/Weber 1968-71, 129-30 no. 7
Dacia -- *AE* (1972) 472³³

³¹[I]mp(eratori) C[ai]ses(ari) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano / [P]io F[elici] Aug(usto) pon]ifici / maximo tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)).

³²The inscription breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

³³[I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Ant(onio) Gord[ian]o Pi(o) F[elici] Au[g(usto)] / pontifici maximo) / tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) c(o)n)s(uli) / proco(n)s(uli).

67. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9119
 Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 522; *CIL* III 3701
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11332/*IPS* 4
 Africa -- *IRT* 455

68. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximusque princ. n.*
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4606

68a. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. restitutor orbis*
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9119/XVII 648

69. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 480/*CIL* VIII 20602

70. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 37/*AE* (1950) 17,³⁴ *IMSM* 5

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7606/*ISM* 1 98a
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10243

72. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *RRM* 57(i), 58a, 60c

³⁴This inscription was listed among the *falsae* in *CIL*. For the argument that it is genuine, M. Macrea, *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice* (Cluj) 5 (1949) 1-6.

73. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *EE* II 910/*CIL* III 11333a³⁵
 Cappadocia -- *AE* (1964) 3
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22396³⁶

V. Latin Titles, Group C

74. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos. I*
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 88-9, 241-9; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 124-5

75. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 454

76. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 68, 73, 76, 291; *HCC* III 25

77. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 15-33, 37, 43, 46, 50a-c, 264-6, 271, 276; *HCC* III 1-5, 13, 81-3
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 170-5

78. *Imp. Caes. Gord. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 54, 59, 280, 284

³⁵*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar)] / M(arcus) An[tonius] Gordianus / Pius] Fel[ix I]nvictus A[eneas] ug(ustus) [p(ontifex) m(aximus) i]frib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul)...*

³⁶This stone actually has just *ponti*, rather than *pont. max.*

79. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13327³⁷

80. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 9
Italy -- *CIL* VI 1089, 37165
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13320
Dacia -- *CIL* III 1175
Africa -- *IRT* 937, 939b

81. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 312

82. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 4539³⁸; *CIL* XI 5269

83. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 47; *CIL* VIII 11325

84. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 650; *CIL* VIII 10290 (=22363)

85. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5366

86. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1127; *CIL* VIII 10204 (=22314)

87. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1088 (cf. 36884); *ILS* 499
Numidia -- *AE* (1969/70) 693; *CIL* VIII 10298; *EE* v 1135; *CIL* VIII 22371; *ILS* 5869; *EE* v 1136; *CIL* VIII 22372

88. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 1210; *CIL* VIII 895 (=12425); *ILS* 5074

89. *d. n. invictissimus et super omnes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1899) 103; *CIL* XIV 4397; *ILS* 2158

90. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 69, 72, 74, 77, 80-2, 292, 294-6; *HCC* III 29-31, 105-9; *Gnechi* I p. 5, 2; II p. 90, 30-1

91. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 224³⁹

92. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1915) 31

93. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9059; *RSS* 32; *CIL* XVII 127⁴⁰
Africa -- *ILAlg* I 3881

³⁷ *[Imp(erator) C]aes(ar) / [M(arcius) An]tonius / [Gordi]anus / [Piu]s Felix [Aug(ustus)] / [tr(ibunicia) p]ot(estate) II [... co(n)s(ul)] / pr(o)co(n)s(ul).*

³⁸ I have restored *Imp. Caes. M. Ant.*

³⁹ This coin is labeled hybrid by the *RIC* editors because the reverse, though of Gordian III, is "not matched to the right obverse."

⁴⁰ *CIL* XVII 129 may also have this titulature, but the stone is now lost, and there are three differing transcriptions of it, which makes deciding on the proper reading impossible.

94. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. optimus fortissimusque princ.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1090;⁴¹ *CIL* X 1117⁴²

95. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1955) 259/*AE* (1964) 277⁴³
Africa -- *AE* (1917/18) 47

96. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3331, 3520; *AE* (1947) 27/*RIU* IV 1044

97. *Gord. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 415/*ILS* 2635; *CIL* VII 416

98. *d. n. Gord. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 518/*ILS* 4128
Italy -- Hülser 1902, 244 no. 28

99. *Gord. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2390, 2391, 2392

100. *d. n. Gord. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *IAL* 17/*CIL* XIII 511/*ILS* 4126⁴⁴
Italy -- *ILS* 2189

⁴¹ *[Imp(eratori) Caesari / M(arco) Antonio Gordiano / Pio Felici Invicto / Augusto] / pontifici m[ax]im[us] tribunicia] / potestat[e] II[II] co(n)s(ul) p(atri) p(striate)] / optimo fortissimo[que] principi].*

⁴² This inscription does not, in fact, include *Invictus*.

⁴³ *[Imp(erator) Caesar / M(arci) Antoni]us Gordianus / Pius Felix Invic[tus] Aug(ustus) / pontifex maximus / trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ul) [p(ater) p(striae)].*

⁴⁴ See above 21 for the first part of this stone.

101. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1948) 12245

102. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 16 (cf. 30685); *ILS* 2095

103. *Imp. d. n. Gord. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 882/*RIB* 1983/*RISC* 34
Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 11759/*ILS* 9179b/*RGAI* 341
Pannonia Inf. -- *RIU* III 869

104. *d. n. Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 521/*ILS* 6325/*Inscript. Ital.* I 1, 22
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 43/*IAM* II 358⁴⁵

105. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 86-8 nos. 228-40; *Hunter* III p. 241, 31

106. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1093

107. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8901/*XVII* 429⁴⁶

108. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14430/*AE* (1902) 127

⁴⁵ See also 33 above.

⁴⁶ See also above 33.

⁴⁷ Walser (*CIL* ad loc.) restores, *Imp(eratori) [Caesari] M(arco) An[tonio] Gordiano] / Pio Fel[icit]i [Augusto] pontifici] / max[imus] trib[unicia] pot[estate] VI] / co(n)s(ul) II p(atri) [p(striae) proco(n)s(ul)].* There is no telling whether the sixth tribunician iteration is or is not here in question. See also below 127.

109. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 87, 91, 114-5, 119, 137a, 139a, 301, 305; *HCC* III 32-3, 110-11
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 236⁴⁸

110. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 3560/AE (1900) 43

111. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. II cos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1091⁴⁹

112. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 88, 92, 102, 105, 135, 138-9, 302, 306, 320-1; *HCC* III 34-6, 112-6; *Gnechi* II p. 90, 32 ff.

113. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 2634
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26264

114. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1454/ILS 7128/ILR III,2 80

115. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos. p. p. restitutor orbis*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1092⁵⁰

116. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV imp. III cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- AE (1969/70) 701/ILAlg II,2 6872

⁴⁸The *RIC* editors say that the reverse of this coin belongs to Philip rather than to Gordian.

⁴⁹[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Antonius Gordianu*] *Pius Felix* [*Aug(ustus)*] / *pontif(ex) max(imus)* / *trib(unicia) potest(ate)* / *III Imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) p(ater) [p(atria)e]*] / [---]

⁵⁰[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano* / *Pio Felici*] *Aug(usto)* *pontif(ici) maximo* / *[trib(unicia) potest(ate)] III co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul) p(atri) p(atriae)* / [*rfestitutori orbis*]

117. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 27432

118. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 89, 93, 103, 106, 303, 307; *HCC* III 37-9, 117-9
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 206

119. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10623

120. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II procos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3112/ILS 501; *CIL* X 6954/ILS 5876/*Inscript. Ital.* I, 242
 Numidia -- AE (1923) 95/*CIL* VIII 8779b (= 17989); AE (1923) 96; AE (1923) 97/*CIL* VIII 17988; AE (1923) 98/*CIL* VIII 8779a (= 17988)

121. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- AE (1952) 191

122. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. V cos. II procos. p.p.*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- Héron de Villefosse 1898, 205

123. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. imp. VI cos. II p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2072 (= 5505)/ILER 6046/ILPG 35

124. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VI cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5701/ILAlg II,2 6513

125. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI(?) cos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3786 (= 32634a)⁵¹

⁵¹[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arco) Antonio Gordiano*] / *Pio Felici Inv(icto) Aug(usto)* / *pontif(ici) max(imo)* / *trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / co(n)s(ul) p(atri) p(atriae)*. Hülser restores tr. pot. VI because fragment b of this stone records the consuls L. Aanius Arrianus and C. Cerouinus Papus (coss. A.D. 243).

126. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 90, 94, 96, 104, 107, 304, 308; *HCC* III 40, 120-1; *Gnecchi* I p. 5, 3; *II* p. 90, 26

127. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p. procos.*⁵²

Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1948) 206/*ILTG* 469/*CIL* XVII 356
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* III pp. 894-5 LII/*CIL* XVI 147; *CIL* XIII 1791; *CIL* XIII 8911/*ILTG* 466/*CIL* XVII 354⁵³

128. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 167a, 339; *HCC* III 122; *Gnecchi* II p. 90, 27
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 207, 248c

129. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p. procos.*

Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1935) 161⁵⁴

130. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. imp. VII cos. procos.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* v 1046 (cf. vii 544)/*CIL* VIII 21559

VI. Greek Titles, Group A

131. Γορδ.

Inscriptions: Italy -- *ILCV* 3995b
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 1 (2); *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3298, 10 & 38; *BGU* XII 2132, 1

⁵²This formula for Gordian may be contained on *CIL* XIII 8933/XVII 383; however, the stone is too fragmentary to be read with certainty. See also above 107.

⁵³The reading given is that of *CIL* XVII and *ILTG*.

⁵⁴[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Antonius Gordianus Pius Fel(ix) / Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trb(unicia) pot(estate) V(H)co(n)s(ul) II p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul)*].

132. Αντ. Γορδ.

Coins: Palestine (Raphia) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 173, 11
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 2 (2)

133. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ.

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* XII 9, 1237a/*Gregory* 1979, 264 no. 7
Coins: Asia (Dorylaion) -- *SNGAul* 3565
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5844

134. Θεός Γορδ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1964) 231/*TAM* V, 1 419
Papyri: *P. Ant.* III 191, 9; *P. Lawr.* I 13, 11 & 22

135. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ. ὁ κυρ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 3 (1)⁵⁵

136. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης

Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1899) 171/*JGRR* III 646/*TAM* II, 3 830

137. Γορδ. Καισ.

Coins: Asia (Miletus) -- *SNGAul* 7937

138. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ. Καισ.

Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 418-23, 6960
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 810-1
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 80; *KAK* 2614-9
Papyri: *CPR* VII 12, 8-9

139. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ. Καισ. ὁ κυρ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 4 (8); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3133, 12-4; *P. Vindob. Sal.* 14, 1-2 & 9; *P. Vindob. Tardem* 11, 54-6; *CPR* VIII 14, 6-8 & 16, 4-6; *Stud. Pal.* XX 73, 1

⁵⁵*Stud. Pal.* XX 73, 1, which *Bureth* lists as attesting this formula, really belongs with 139 below. See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 137.

140. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θείστατος Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 28 (1978) 586

141. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 38-9, 81-5, 88; *SNGCop Thrace* 251, 253-4, 257, 259
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 63, 61
Thrace (Perinthos) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 159-60, 63-4, 70-1; *Hunter* I p. 403, 29; *SNGCop Thrace* 760
Asia (Alia) -- *SNGAul* 3387
Asia (Dokimeion) -- *SNGAul* 3556, 8356
Asia (Midaion) -- *SNGAul* 3891
Bithynia (Amasris) -- *SNGAul* 175-6
Bithynia (Chalcedon) -- *SNGAul* 499-501
Bithynia (Cios-Prusias ad Mare) -- *SNGAul* 512
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 424-37, 6961-3
Bithynia (Juliopolis) -- *SNGAul* 6975
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 653-9, 7049-50, 7167-8; *KBM* 66-76
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 812-26, 7118-21
Bithynia (Prusias on the Hypios) -- *SNGAul* 909-11
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1002-18, 7187

142. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *IGRR* III 1303/MS 218

143. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5836-43, 8711

144. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5845
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80

145. Θεὸς Γορδ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 8 (1)

146. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 152, 174

147. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ. Σεβ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 40, 91

148. Καῖσ. (?) Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ. Σεβ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 40, 90⁵⁶

149. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 33, 45⁵⁷

150. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 5 (2)

151. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1971) 431⁵⁸
Thrace -- *AE* (1891) 84/IGRR I 672/IGBulg 2013

152. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. νέος Ἡλιος
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 302⁵⁹

153. Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 52, 77
Macedonia (Koinon B) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 29, 158
Asia (Tiberiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 4032, 8457
Cilicia (Epiphaneia) -- *SNGAul* 5555

154. ὁ θείστατος Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I, 1445/IGBulg 797

⁵⁶ The obverse legend reads, KMANTΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣΑΥΓΣΕΒ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛ ΛΕΙΝ.

⁵⁷ The stone is broken at the top, cutting off (probably) the first part of Gordian's titulature -- possibly Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ.

⁵⁸ See also below 201.

⁵⁹ This titulature is contained in lines 8-9 of the inscription. See also below 166.

155. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. δ Θειότατος Αυτ. δ ἐκ Θεῶν
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 188/*IGR* III 235/*RECAM* II 396

156. δ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1517

157. δ Θειότατος Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 15 (1958) 447/*IGBulg* 2002

158. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ανγ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 139-40, 19-21

159. Αυτ. Μ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 1158/*G* IV,1 613

160. δ κυρ. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGR* I 623/*ILS* 8851

161. δ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* XI,5 666
Arabia -- *AE* (1907) 67; *SEG* 34 (1984) 1519

162. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1965) 345/*IGBulg* 1707
Asia -- *Milet* p. 54

163. δ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Parry: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 7 (1)

164. δ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *SEG* 18 (1962) 268/*AE* (1972) 558

165. δ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGR* I 756/*IGBulg* 1565

166. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Ανικ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 302/*Engelmann & Knibbe* 1978-80, 32 no. 3360

167. Γορδ. Αυτ. Καισ.
Coins: Thrace (Anchialos) -- *AMNG* II no. 646

168. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGR* I 581/*IGBulg* 644
Asia -- *CIG* II 2496/*IGR* IV 1038/*IG* XIII,3 210; *IK* 24,1 630⁶¹
Lydia -- *SEG* 27 (1977) 923
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Istros) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 27, 19
Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *Hunter* I p. 412, 13
Moesia Inf. (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 52-3, 78-9; *Hunter* I p. 415, 18; *SNGCop Thrace* 290
Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *Hunter* I p. 419, 5; *BMC Thrace* p. 139, 18; *SNGCop Thrace* 682-3
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 61-3, 50-1, 53, 59-60, 62; *SNGCop Thrace* 300, 302-3
Thrace (Anchialos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 86, 20
Thrace (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 591
Macedonia (Koinon) -- *AMNG* III 315-20; *SNGCop Macedonia* 1350
Macedonia (Edessa) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 40, 25-7; *Hunter* I p. 362, 2-3
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* pp. 124-6, 116-31; *Hunter* I pp. 374-5, 71-6; *SNGCop Macedonia* 426-38
Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 153, 175
Achaea (Siphnos) -- *BMC Crete & Aegean Islands* p. 122, 12
Bithynia (Kabeira-Neucaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 110-1, 6764
Asia (Accilaion) -- *SNGAul* 3363-4
Asia (Acmoniaeia) -- *SNGAul* 3379
Asia (Acrasus) -- *SNGAul* 8215
Asia (Adramytion) -- *SNGAul* 1061

⁶⁰ This titulature is contained in lines 3-6 of the stone. See also above 152.

⁶¹ [..-πέρ-Αύτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μόρκου 'Αντωνίο[υ] Γορδιανού-] etc. Obviously, the dedication may not even involve Gordian. Cf. Petzl, *IK* ad loc.

Asia (Alia) -- *SNGAul* 3388-90, 8316
 Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2427-8
 Asia (Apamaea) -- *SNGAul* 8347
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2461, 2464
 Asia (Bruzos) -- *SNGAul* 3527-31
 Asia (Cibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3748-52
 Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 1656
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1285
 Asia (Elaea) -- *SNGAul* 1618
 Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1913, 1936-7, 7882-3
 Asia (Eucarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3579
 Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1117-8, 1120-3, 7229-30
 Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGAul* 3612, 8376
 Asia (Halicarnassus) -- *SNGAul* 2538
 Asia (Harpasa) -- *SNGAul* 8094
 Asia (Kadói) -- *SNGAul* 8390
 Asia (Keretapa) -- *SNGAul* 3690
 Asia (Lysias) -- *SNGAul* 3881-2
 Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2061
 Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 2069
 Asia (Mylasa) -- *SNGAul* 2632-3
 Asia (Okokleia) -- *SNGAul* 3899-3901
 Asia (Pergamum & Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 1427
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3928
 Asia (Phocaea) -- *SNGAul* 2148
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2312-5
 Asia (Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 8261
 Asia (Sebaste) -- *SNGAul* 3953
 Asia (Sibidunda) -- *SNGAul* 5329
 Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2227-30
 Asia (Smyrna & Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 2249
 Asia (Smyrna & Asia) -- *SNGAul* 2250
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3990-2
 Asia (Thyateira) -- *SNGAul* 8279
 Asia (Trajanopolis) -- *SNGAul* 4040
 Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3322, 8297
 Cappadocia (Caesarea) -- *SNGAul* 6526-31

Lycia (Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 4377
 Lycia (Rhodiapolis) -- *SNGAul* 4449, 8496
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5501
 Cilicia (Corycus) -- *SNGAul* 5682
 Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5596
 Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 121, 14-5; *SNGCop Palestine* 238-9
 Mesopotamia (Singara) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 135, 7-13; *SNGCop Palestine* 256-7
 Palestine (Gaza) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 168, 147
 Palestine (Nysa-Scythopolis) -- *SNGCop Palestine* 22

169. ὁ Θεοφιλέστατος Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 1164

170. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1921) 58/*SEG* 3.2 (1929) 508/*IGBulg* 2000; *IGRR* I 694/*IGBulg* 2016

171. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Ευσ.

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 81; *KAK* 2620 ff.⁶²

172. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 7 (1)

173. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ.

Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 12; *Hunter* I p. 410, 4; *SNGCop Thrace* 186

Moesia Inf. (Dionysopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 24, 2-4; *Hunter* I p. 410, 1; *SNGCop Thrace* 189-90

Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 38-40, 80, 86-7, 89; *SNGCop Thrace* 252, 255-6

⁶² The obverse legends of these coins read, ΑΚΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣΕΥΣΕ. Grissen (*KAK* ad loc.) and Milne 1933 take the last four letters to abbreviate Εὐσεβής; however, see below 178 where Εύ(σεβής) Σε(βαστός) seems to be the proper reading of a number of coins.

174. Αυτ. Καισ. Γορδ. Σεβ.

Coins: Lycia (Myra) -- *SNGAul* 4371

175. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.

Coins: Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *SNGCop Epirus* 82
 Bithynia (Cabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 106-9, 6761-3, 6765
 Bithynia (Trapezus) -- *SNGAul* 140
 Asia (Apamaea) -- *SNGAul* 3508
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2462-5
 Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGAul* 837563
 Asia (Harpasa) -- *SNGAul* 2541
 Asia (Ilion) -- *SNGAul* 1543
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3927
 Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3294
 Cappadocia (Caesarea) -- *SNGAul* 6523-5
 Lycia (Acalissos) -- *SNGAul* 4269

⁶³ This coin actually reads, Α Κ Μ ΑΝΤΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ Β (= ΣΕΒ?).

Lycia (Aperiae) -- *SNGAul* 4271
 Lycia (Arneai) -- *SNGAul* 4272
 Lycia (Arcanda) -- *SNGAul* 4276-7
 Lycia (Aspendos) -- *SNGAul* 4594-5
 Lycia (Choma) -- *SNGAul* 8486
 Lycia (Corydalla) -- *SNGAul* 4295-6
 Lycia (Myra) -- *SNGAul* 4368-70
 Lycia (Patara) -- *SNGAul* 4383-7
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4696
 Lycia (Phaselis) -- *SNGAul* 4442-4, 8495
 Lycia (Phellos) -- *SNGAul* 4445
 Lycia (Podalia) -- *SNGAul* 4448
 Lycia (Rhodiapolis) -- *SNGAul* 4450, 8497
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4829-31, 8542
 Lycia (Tlos) -- *SNGAul* 4466-9
 Lycia (Trebenna) -- *SNGAul* 4473
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5502, 8668
 Cilicia (Epiphaneia) -- *SNGAul* 5554
 Cilicia (Lyrbe) -- *SNGAul* 5697-5702
 Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 5746
 Syria (Leucas on the Chrysoroeas) -- *BMC Syria* p. 297, 6-7
 Mesopotamia (Carrhae) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 89-90, 54-63; *Hunter III* pp. 303-4, 20-4; *SNGCop Palestine* 187-864
 Mesopotamia (Edessa) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 111-2, 124-32; *Hunter III* pp. 312-4, 63-7 & 69-80; *SNGCop Palestine* 220-1
 Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 121, 11-3; *SNGCop Palestine* 237
 Mesopotamia (Singara) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 134, 1-6; *Hunter III* p. 320, 1-2; *SNGCop Palestine* 254-565
 Palestine (Nysa-Scythopolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 76-7, 6-13⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Both coins are much worn, and the legends barely readable.

⁶⁵ Again, these coins are worn to the point of being nearly illegible.

⁶⁶ Once more, the coins are worn and the legends barely legible.

176. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευγ. Σεβ.

Coins: Moesia Inf. (Istros) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 27, 20⁶⁷
 Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *Hunter* I p. 413, 14; *SNGCop Thrace* 260-1
 Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 140, 22-3; *SNGCop Thrace* 684-868
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 63, 63-4
 Thrace (Anchialos) -- *AMNG* II nos. 747-82a; *SNGCop Thrace* 443-50⁶⁹
 Thrace (Mesembria) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 133-4, 15-7; *SNGCop Thrace* 662-3

177. ὁ θειότατος καὶ μέγιστος κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 18 = 22bis⁷⁰

178. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1337; *AE* (1902) 136/*IGRR* I 725/*IGBulg* 1375
 Coins:⁷¹ Lycia (Prostanna) -- *SNGAul* 5149, 8619
 Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5236
 Papyri: *P. Köln* I 55, 11-372

⁶⁷ The obverse legend reads, AYT K M ANTΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟ ΣΕ ΑΥ. The division here is mine and intended to clarify my interpretation of this legend.

⁶⁸ The obverse legends here read, AYT ■ M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ ΣΕΒ / TRANKY/ΑΛΙΝΑ. It may be that we are dealing here with a misspelling of Tranquillina's name (ΣΕΒ rather than ΣΑΒ) and not the epithet Σεβαστός.

⁶⁹ The coins from Anchialos typify the problem just mentioned (supra n. 68). Some of the coins read clearly Σεβ(αστός) while others have Σεβ(ιος), and it is not clear which is the correct form of the legend. I have listed all as testimonia to the title Σεβαστός, but the following actually read ΣΑΒ: *AMNG* II nos. 648, 652-4, 659, 662-3, 667-9, 675-6 679; *SNGCop Thrace* 449-50.

⁷⁰ Υπὲρ τῆς [τοῦ θειότατου καὶ μεγίστου κυρίου ἡμῶν] / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ. Ἀυτοκράτορος Γορδιανοῦ Εὐ[σεβίος] Σεβ(αστοῦ).

⁷¹ These coins all read, AYT KAI MAP ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥ ΣΕ. But see above 171.

⁷² The titulature on this papyrus is heavily damaged and must be restored: [Αὐτοκράτορος] / Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ / Εύτυχοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ]. As the editors note, the emperor might be Elagabalus, not Gordian.

179. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 724 (=1477)/*IGBulg* 1069; *IGRR* I 723/*IGBulg* 1384; *IGBulg* 1705; *AE* (1933) 91/*IGBulg* 1706;⁷³ *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syl*³ 888/*IGBulg* 2236⁷⁴
 Achaea -- *CIG* 1322/*IG* V,1 1241; *CIG* 1323/*IG* V,1 1294
 Asia -- *AE* (1969/70) 599/Reynolds 1982, 22; Reynolds 1982, 23
 Syria -- *SGLI* 271⁷⁵

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 6 (15); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2769, 32-3; XLI 2977, 52-4; XLIII 3133, 15-9; XLVII 3365, 7-8 & 84-5; L 3595, 43-4; *P. Mich.* XI 620, 120, 201 & 257; *P. Coll. Youtie* 65, 7-8, 84-5; *P. Mich.* XIV 675, 9 & 31; *CPR* VIII 15, 2-5

180. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος κοσμοκράτωρ

Inscriptions: Italy -- *IGRR* I 387/*IG XIV* 926/*IGIP* 5

181. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Lycia -- *TAM* II 739

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 7 (18); *O. Leid.* 260, 2-4

182. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ὁ γενναιότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *P. Vindob. Tandem* 2, 6-7

183. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Ανικ. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 304a

184. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1951) 59/*FD* III.4 274

185. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης

Inscriptions: Lycia -- *CIG* 4342b/*IGRR* III 792

⁷³ This inscription is almost entirely restored.

⁷⁴ See also above 33 and 35.

⁷⁵ The stone reads, [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀυτώνιον Γορδιανὸν Εὐσεβή...]

186. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης καὶ σωτὴρ Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ Εὐσ. βασιλεὺς
Inscriptions: Asia -- *SEG* 4.2 (1930) 523/*AE* (1930) 78/*FiE* IV.3 36/JK 17,2 4336

187. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *JK* 12, 303

188. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότης Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. νέος "Ηλίος"
Inscriptions: Asia -- *FiE* I p. 211, no. 2/*JK* 12, 304

189. ὁ θεοειδέστατος βασιλεὺς Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *CIG* 1382/*IG* V, 1 572

190. κτιστης καὶ σωτὴρ τῆς πόλεως Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* I, 3593, 1-4 & 30-3, 3594, 6-7

191. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1902) 115/*IGR* I 580 (cf. 1422)/*IGBulg* 642
Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1564
Macedonia -- *AE* (1972) 559
Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 53

VII. Greek Titles, Group B

192. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 211, 494-8; *Hunter* III p. 179, 279-81;
SNGCop Syria 260-1

193. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Soloi-Pompeipolis) -- *SNGAul* 5892-5
Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6036-55

194. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. Εὐτ. π. π.
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *CIG* 4644/*IGR* III 1323/*IGLS* XIII, 1 9057

195. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. υπ. π. π. ὁ εὐεργέτης τῆς οἰκουμένης
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31128b/*IGR* I 133b/*IG XIV* 1066b/*IGUR* 80⁷⁶

196. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. υπ. π. π.
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1972) 561a⁷⁷

197. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. π. π. υπ. αυθιπ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGR* IV 269 (= 1175)

198. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ (?) υπ. τὸ (?) π. π.
Papyri: *P. Ant.* 191, 12⁷⁸

VIII. Greek Titles, Group C

199. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. υπ. τὸ α' π. π.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1926) 99/*IGBulg* 641

200. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ β' υπ. π. π.
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *SEG* 34 (1984) 614
Asia -- Reynolds 1982, 20

⁷⁶ The reading given here is that of *CIL*.

⁷⁷ Αγαθὴ Τύχη. / [Αὐτο]ο[κράτο]ρ[ι] Καίσα[ρι] /ρι [Μ. 'Αντωνίω Γ]ορδί/αν[η] [Εύσεβει] Ε]ύτυχει / Σ[εβαστὴ] δρχ[ε]ρ[ι] με/[γ]ιστ[ρ] δημαρχ[ε]ρ[ι] / ἐ[ξουσια]ς τὸ ? ο[π]ά/τ[ρ] τὸ ? π[ατρί] π[ατρίδος].

⁷⁸ For the correct reading of this papyrus, Sijpesteijn 1982, 107-8.

201. ὁ θειότατος καὶ μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ γ' υπ. τὸ α' π. π.
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1971) 431⁷⁹

202. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. υπ. τὸ β'
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1975) 768

203. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. τὸ β'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 211-2, 499-503; *Hunter* III p. 180, 282-4; *SNGCop Syria* 258-9

204. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ γ' υπ. τὸ β' π. π. αὐθυπ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reynolds 1982, 21

IX. Gordian I and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group A

205. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *EE* v 40/*CIL* III 6894⁸⁰

X. Gordian I and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group B

206. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Ant. p. p. trib. pot.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 6749 (= 14184,16)

⁷⁹ See also above 151.

⁸⁰ Note that this inscription actually reads, *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / Marcus Anto(nius) Gordiani / nepos Pius / Fel<ix> x Invict(us) / Augustus*.

207. *Imp. Caes. divi Gord. nepos M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. fortissimus felicissimus*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *TAM* IV 14/IDB 50/RRM I, 1/Şahin et al. 1983, 47/Polat & Şahin 1985, 100, no. 4; Şahin 1983, 48-9, nos. 1 & 2

XI. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group A

208. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. divorum Gordd. nepos*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10431

209. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22037

210. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. invictissimus Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10079 (= 22061)

211. *Imp. d. n. magnus Inv. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Ant. Gord. nepos divi. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus princ.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 907 (= 11169)

XII. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group B

212. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10330/ILS 497

213. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos. procos. nepos Gord. Aug. nn. divorum*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* n 1146/*CIL* VIII 22399⁸¹

214. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10452
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1912) 175

215. *Imp. Caes. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1895) 71/*CIL* VIII 25371

216. *Imp. Caes. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos. divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus Fel. Imp. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILS* 5472

217. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 848/*ILS* 498/*CILB* 356

218. *Imp. Caes. divi Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 30/*CIL* VIII 11138

219. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22008

220. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. fil. divi Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Cumont 1902, 333 no. 53

⁸¹ *{Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) / nepo(s)i Gordiano/num Aug(ustorum) n(ostrum) d[i]vorum.* This is the restoration suggested by Schmidt in *EE*.

221. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. divi Gord. nepos et divi Gord. sororis fil.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 357 & 754/*CIL* VIII 2365 (= 17878)⁸²

XIII. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group C

222. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1956) 127a

223. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 666/*CIL* VIII 10460 (= 22593)

224. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1973) 653

225. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22026, 22033⁸³

226. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22043⁸⁴

⁸² *{Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano Invicto Pio / F[ili]c[i] Aug(usto) pontifici ma[x]imo tribunicia[re] potest[ate] / co[n]s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli) divi Gordiani nepot[us] et divi] / Gordian[us] sororis filio}.*

⁸³ The tribunician iteration number is restored to this inscription.

⁸⁴ The tribunician iteration number is here restored.

227. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis suae fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 575/*CIL* VIII 22046⁸⁵

228. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. III p. p. cos. procos. divi Gord. nepos et divi Gord. sororis fil.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4218/*ILS* 500

229. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1969/70) 708

230. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. divi M. Ant. Gord. Iunioris fortissimus et super omnes retro principes indulgentissimus*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1942/43) 40/*ILT* 110

231. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI imp. IV p. p. cos. II procos. nepos divorum Gord.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1911) 117

232. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1097/*CIL* VIII 22019

■ Again, the tribunician iteration is restored.

XIV. Gordians I, II and III, Greek Titles, Group A

233. *Αυτ. Καστ. Μ. Αντ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Ανικ. Θεῶν Γορδδ. ιωνὸς Σεβ.*
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *JG* V,1 1242⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The stone reads (lines 2 ff.), Αὐτο[κράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. 'Αντ(ανίου) Γορδ[ιανὸν Εύσεβην Εύτυχην]
'Ανε[ίσητον...] / Θεῶν[ν Γορδιανῶν ιωνὸν Σε]βασ[τὸν].

Philippus Arabs

(ca. late February/early March 244 - ca. September 249)

*M(arcus) Jul(ius) Phil(ippus)*I.  Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 28.1 Igitur Marcus Iulius Philippus Arabs Thraconites, sumpto in consortium Philippo filio...

Epit. de Caes. 28.3 Filius autem eius Gaius Julius Saturninus, quem potentiae sociaverat...

Eulrop. 9.3 Philippi duo, filius ac pater, Gordiano occiso imperium invaserunt...ambo deinde ab exercitu interfici sunt...inter Divos tamen relati sunt.

HA Gord. 31.2-3 Philippus autem, ne a crudelitate nancisci videretur imperium, Romam litteras misit, quibus scripsit Gordianum morbo perisse seque a cunctis militibus electum. nec defulti, ut senatus de his rebus, quas non noverat, falleretur. appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter deos rettulit.

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.20.1-2 ...Philippus vicensimus quartus ab Augusto imperator creatus Philippum filium suum consortem regni fecit...

Zonaras 12.19 Ἐπανελθών οὖν ὁ Φιλίππος ἐγκρατής ἐγένετο τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπανιέναι τὸν οὐδὲν Φιλίππου κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας προσεῖλετο.

II.  Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group A1. *Phil.*Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 82. *Jul. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 93. *d. n. M. Jul. Phil. Aug.*Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL XII* 103a. *Phil. Pi. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi I* p. 5, 14. *d. n. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL II* 60125. *d. n. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL III* 10418/AE (1941) 131¹6. *Imp. M. Jul. Phil.*Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 7
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 14787. *Imp. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 8-10, 12-25, 57-67, 90, 93, 95, 104, 105b-106, 111, 114, 166c, 167d, 168d, 184d; *HCC III* 29-39, 41-9, 52-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC IV.3* 878. *Imp. Iul. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 6877

¹The original *CIL* reading is emended by A. Alföldi, *Archaeologai Értesítő* 52 (1939) 109 to give this reading.

9. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13306²

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 26-53, 91, 94, 96-9, 101a-3a, 105a, 106a-13, 155-6, 158-61, 165-6, 167a & b, 168a & b, 169-184c, 185-95; *Gnechi* III p. 47, 14
 Dacia ("Provincia Dacia") -- *BMC Thrace* p. 14, 1-6; *Hunter* I p. 405, 1-3; *SNGCop Thrace* 124-8
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 16-7, 18-25; *Hunter* I pp. 407-8, 12, 14-8; *SNGCop Thrace* 149-57
 Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 114, 24-6; *Hunter* I p. 440, 8-9
 Macedonia (Pella) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 289
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4972-3
 Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* III 124; *RIC* IV.3 81-6
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 64, 118-9, pp. 65-6, 125-8

10. *d. n. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *IKJug* II 16111. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4969-70
 Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *Hunter* III p. 219, 7
 Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Acc) -- *SNGCop Phoenicia* 187
 Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 282-3, 431-5; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 374-6³
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 65, 123

12. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* X 1, 673/Alföldy 1984b 164

Coins: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10140
 Macedonia (Cassandreia) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 155
 Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 48; *SNGCop Macedonia* 288
 Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *SNGCop Syria* 425⁵
 Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *Hunter* III p. 221, 6
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *Hunter* III p. 279, 8
 Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 23, 39

13. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel.*

Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6917
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22613

14. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 54-5; *Gnechi* I p. 48, 1 ff.; II p. 94, 1 ff.
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4971
 Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 29-30, 138-43

15. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1172 (=1173)/*RIB* 2270

Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 8285, 10166
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22606
 Coins: Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 286, 22-3
 Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 292-3, 15-22; *SNGCop Syria* 434-5
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 63, 116-7, p. 64, 120-2; *SNGCop Palestine* 19

²[*I*]mp[eratori] M[arco] [*Iul*(io)] / *Phil*(ippo) Au[g]usto --

³No. 376 is, in fact, nearly illegible.

⁴*Imp*(eratori) Caes(ari) / [M(arco)] Iulio / [Philippo] --

⁵The coin is badly worn, and only IMP C M IVL is at all legible.

16. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 793/XIV 2258/*ILS* 505⁶
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 49-50, no. 3
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- Tudor 1975, 128 no. 3⁷
Phoenicia -- *JGSL* 2674⁸
Numidia -- *AE* (1941) 48; *Marcillet-Jaubert* 1980, 169-70 no. 17;
Salama 1951-52, 237-8 no. 4; *CIL* VIII 10139, 10216, 22222, 22253
(= 10120), *EE* vii 656/22395, 22533
19. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1935) 38

III. Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group B

20. *d. n. Phil. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3161
21. *Imp. Phil. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1935) 27/*ILP* 102
Pannonia Sup. -- *HSE* 31

⁶See below 185.

⁷[--*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iul(ius) Philippi(po) Pio Fel(ici) Invicto Aug(usto)---*

⁸*Imp(erato)ri Caes(ari) M(arco) Iul(ius) / Philippi(po) / Plio Fel(ici) / Invic/ / to Au[g]usto---*

22. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. cos.*
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1924) 65⁹
23. *Imp. d. n. Phil. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 2706
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1934) 208/*IMS* IV 13¹⁰
24. *Imp. Phil. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1567/*ILS* 4140;¹¹ *AE* (1910) 217/*AE* (1924) 26/*ILG* 518¹²
25. *Imp. d. n. Phil. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *LAML* I p. 52
Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 4131
26. *Imp. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1954) 110/*LAM* II 359¹³
27. *Imp. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 16, 17; *Hunter* I p. 407, 13
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 72-4
28. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 94-5, 4, 5, 9; III p. 47, 15

⁹See also 213 below.

¹⁰The stone does not, in fact, contain Philip's name; however, it can be dated to A.D. 245 because of the mention of his co-consul, Titianus.

¹¹See also 161 below.

¹²See also 171 below.

¹³See also below 179.

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- AE (1959) 311/AE (1960) 350/OR 7/IDR II 10¹⁴

30. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- RJC IV.3 69-71; HCC III 120-2

31. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Gisell 1917, 347 no. 80

32. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 3073

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- CIL X 7996/ILS 5870; CIL X 7999, 8009,¹⁵ 8027; Boninu & Stylow 1982, no. 1/AE (1984) 444/Sotgiu 1988, B177; AE (1977) 345/Boninu & Stylow 1982, no. 8/Sotgiu 1988, add. B92

34. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- AE (1976) 23¹⁶
Pannonia Inf. -- AE (1969/70) 496, 512;¹⁷ CIL III 3717

35. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- Alföldy 1969, 33 no. 45

¹⁴This inscription was originally attributed to Gordian III (the emperor's name is illegible), but now seems better ascribed to Philip.

¹⁵I have here restored, *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pl. Fel. Aug.*, based on other milestones from Sardinia. See also Sotgiu 1988, C112.

¹⁶[*Imp(eratori) Caesari] / M(arco) Iulio Philippo] / Pio Felici Aug(usto)] / pont(ifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae) / proco(n)s(uli) --*

¹⁷[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Julio Philippo / P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) p(on)t(ifici) max(imo)] / trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae)] / proco(n)s(uli). This stone can be assigned to Philip because his wife, Marcia Otacilia, is mentioned on the stone. The restoration is based on CIL III 3717.*

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- IMS VI 198

37. *maximus et super omnes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- CIL III 1687/IMS IV 73

38. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Pontus -- RRM 1 22a

39. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- CIL III 5718
Dacia -- AE (1944) 39

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- AE (1956) 127b
Mauretania Caes. -- AE (1903) 95; AE (1921) 16; EE v 1158/CIL VIII 22590; EE vii 674/CIL VIII 22621

41. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- EE v 1162/CIL VIII 22596

42. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- CIL III 5730
Numidia -- CIL VIII 10241

43. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- EE ii 909/CIL III 11329¹⁸
Numidia -- EE vii 766/CIL VIII 17877¹⁹
Mauretania Caes. -- CIL VIII 10453

¹⁸This inscription includes *et M. Iul.* of Philip Junior's name, but then breaks.

¹⁹[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iulio Philippo / Invicto Pio Felici / Aug(usto) pontif(ici)] max(imo) trib(unicia) potes[ti]ate co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae) --.*

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4608, 6083/*RIT* 86
 Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 759/*CIL* III 10620²⁰
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11328, 11334 (=4627)
 Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6172/*IDR* V 152

45. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4634

IV. Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group C

46. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 148b

47. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-2, 148a; *HCC* III 1-3, 54-5
 East (?) -- *RIC* IV.3 88

48. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* iii 39/*CIL* II 5947

49. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 12573/*AE* (1967) 411

50. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1958) 127

²⁰ [Imp(erator) C]aes(ar) / [M(arco) Iul(ius)] Philip/[pus P(ius) F(elix) Invictus / [Aug(ustus) pont(ifex)] max(imus) ...

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. Max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *Uggeri* 1977, 126-32 no. 1²¹

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1379

53. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *Puerta & Stylo* 1985, 331 no. 21

54. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 3, 96,²² 149,²³ *HCC* III 4-5, 56-7

55. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et cos. des. p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6325/*IP* 36²⁴

56. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. II (?)*
 Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 188/*EO* 93²⁵

57. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II pp. 94-5, 6, 7

²¹ [Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arco) Iulio / Philippo] / P(ius) F(elix) Invicto A[ugusto] / pontifici maximo trib(unicia) / pot(estate) II co(n)s(ulli) proco(n)s(ulli). The restoration of Philip's name is conjectured but likely. See *Uggeri* ad loc.

²² This coin is listed in *RIC* as a hybrid, with a reverse type belonging to Gordian III.

²³ The reverse legend of these coins is misprinted in *RIC*. Cohen, from whom the *RIC* editors took the references, gives the legend without a consular iteration.

²⁴ This stone was originally attributed to Philip Senior, but has now been turned over to his son. See M. Peachin, "Which Philip?" *ZPE* 73 (1988) 98-100.

²⁵ The reading of this stone is not secure. Hübner (*CIL* ad loc.) says, *Aut scribendum TRIB POT II P P COS ut sit patris a. 245, aut TRIB POT II P P COS II, ut sit filii a. 248.*

58. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 75²⁶

59. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 5, 150c, 151a; *HCC* III 28, 58
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 76a-7

60. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 4, 150a & b, 151b; *HCC* III 59-60
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 75-6

61. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechii* II p. 95, 8

62. *Imp. Phil. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 24-5; *HCC* III 50-1

63. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 157, 162-4; *HCC* III 109-16

64. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 154c

65. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 6-7, 153c, 154a & b; *HCC* III 40

66. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 152-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 77a

67. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 11; *Gnechii* I pp. 5-6, 2

²⁶The reverse legend of this coin is problematic. See above p. 64 n. 130.

68. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *IDR* III.2 81

69. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 79b

70. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- *RIC* IV.3 78, 79a, 80; *HCC* III 123

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. II*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1914) 113

V. **Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group A**

72. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 1 (2)

73. Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
Coins: Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 7930

74. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1934) 196
Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1993

75. Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ὁ κυρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 2 (4)

76. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.

Coins: Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 340-1
 Bithynia (Caesarea-Germanike) -- *SNGAul* 6979
 Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 6964
 Bithynia (Juliolopolis) -- *SNGAul* 474-5, 6976-7
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 666-80, 7051; *KBM* 81-104
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 829-34, 7123
 Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 882
 Asia (Cotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3786-7
 Asia (Dorylaion) -- *SNGAul* 3566, 8359

77. ὁ Θειότατος Σεβ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.

Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 1478/*IDB* 68/*IGBulg* 911²⁷

78. Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.

Coins: Thrace (Messembria) -- *Hunter* I p. 421, 2; *SNGCop Thrace* 664-5
 Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 108, 42

79. Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.

Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 187
 Moesia Inf. (Tomii) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 64, 65; *SNGCop Thrace* 306
 Thrace (Bizya) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 89-91, 8-14
 Thrace (Bizya & Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 92, 1
 Thrace (Messembria) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 134, 18-9

80. Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.

Coins: Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *SNGCop Epirus* 83

81. Θειότατος Αυγ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1913) 175

82. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 1479/*IDB* 67/*IGBulg* 900
 Thrace -- *AE* (1938) 139; *SEG* 28 (1978) 589, 590, 591; *IGRR* I 695/*IGBulg* 2032; *SEG* 15 (1958) 458/*IGBulg* 2037

83. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. ὁ Αυτ. Παρθ. Αδιαβ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1975) 765

84. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 19

85. Αυτ. Κατσ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.

Coins: Syria (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 265, 3
 Palestine (Raphia) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 174, 12-4

86. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.

Coins: Macedonia (Edessa) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 40, 28; *SNGCop Macedonia* 172
 Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 127, 133-7; *Hunter* I p. 375, 78-9
 Macedonia (Koinon) -- *AMNG* III 321
 Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2429
 Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1125
 Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 1143
 Asia (Hadrianotherai) -- *SNGAul* 1158-9
 Asia (Hierapolis) -- *SNGAul* 3659
 Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3666
 Asia (Hyrcaneis) -- *SNGAul* 2976
 Asia (Julia-Gordos) -- *SNGAul* 8230
 Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2062
 Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 3883, 7929
 Asia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 8242
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2319
 Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2231
 Asia (Thyateira) -- *SNGAul* 3238
 Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3443

²⁷...τῶν θειότατων Σεβ(οστῶν) / [Μ(άρκου) Τσαλίου Φιλίππου καὶ Ὀτακίλημας Σεονήρος...

87. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Γερμ.
Inscriptions: Asia – *IGRR* IV 635

88. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευο.²⁸
Coins: Galatia (Barala) – *SNGAul* 5382
Lycia (Perge) – *SNGAul* 4701, 8516
Egypt (Alexandria) – Milne 1933, p. 84; *KAK* 2696 ff.

89. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Thrace (Bizya) – *SNGCop Thrace* 472-4
Asia (Apamaea) – *SNGAul* 3510-1, 8348
Asia (Daldis) – *SNGAul* 2936
Asia (Germe) – *SNGAul* 1124
Asia (Hadrianeia) – *SNGAul* 1140
Asia (Hadrianoi) – *SNGAul* 7241
Asia (Themisonion) – *SNGAul* 4022
Asia (Tripolis) – *SNGAul* 8298
Bithynia (Amastris) – *SNGAul* 177
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) – *SNGAul* 442-3
Bithynia (Tios) – *SNGAul* 1022-3
Galatia (Ancyra) – *SNGAul* 3444

90. Αυτ. Κατσ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Arabia (Philippopolis) – *SNGCop Palestine* 151

91. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Apamaea & Ephesus) – *SNGAul* 3515
Asia (Apollonia-Mordiaion) – *SNGAul* 4998
Asia (Kidyessos) – *SNGAul* 3761
Asia (Nysa) – *SNGAul* 3053
Asia (Philomelion) – *SNGAul* 3929
Asia (Tripolis) – *SNGAul* 3323

²⁸The coins that attest this formula all have the abbreviation ΕΥΣΕ, with the exception of *SNGAul* 4701, where ΕΥΣΕΒ is to be read. I presume that the titulature under which they are here listed is intended on all of these coins.

Lycia (Aspendos) – *SNGAul* 4596
Lycia (Panemoteichos) – *SNGAul* 5131
Galatia (Amblaada) – *SNGAul* 4905
Cappadocia (Laranda) – *SNGAul* 5400
Cilicia (Anazarbos) – *SNGAul* 5504
Cilicia (Anemurion) – *SNGAul* 5523
Cilicia (Celenderis) – *SNGAul* 5651
Cilicia (Corykos) – *SNGAul* 5683-4
Cilicia (Diocaesarea) – *SNGAul* 5546-50
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) – *SNGAul* 5846-7
Syria (Antioch) – *BMC Syria* pp. 212-3, 507-10, pp. 214-5, 524-34; *Hunter* III p. 181, 297-301; *SNGCop Syria* 269-75
Syria (Cyrthus) – *BMC Syria* p. 137, 30-3; *SNGCop Syria* 49
Syria (Hierapolis) – *Hunter* III p. 140, 32; *SNGCop Syria* 63
Syria (Laodicea ad Mare) – *BMC Syria* p. 262, 109-11; *Hunter* III p. 208, 46-7
Syria (Samosata) – *BMC Syria* pp. 121-2, 44-52; *Hunter* III pp. 129-30, 30-4
Syria (Zeugma) – *BMC Syria* p. 127, 29-32; *Hunter* III p. 132, 15-7; *SNGCop Syria* 32-4
Mesopotamia (Nisibis) – *BMC Arabia* pp. 122-3, 17-26; *SNGCop Palestine* 240-3
Arabia (Philippopolis) – *BMC Arabia* pp. 42-3, 4-9

92. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Phoenicia – *IGRR* III 1198
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 1 (3)

93. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 2 (1)

94. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. οὐτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης
Inscriptions: Lycia – *SEG* 17 (1960) 613

95. ὁ θειότατος Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace – *AE* (1892) 10/*IGRR* I 757 (=I 1495)/*IGBulg* 1700; *AE* (1965) 346/*IGBulg* 1710

VI. Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group B

96. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 212-3, 504-10; *Hunter* III p. 180, 285-7;
SNGCop Syria 262

97. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Εὐσ. Σεβ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6058-63

VII. Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group C

98. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. α'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 213, 511; *SNGCop Syria* 263

99. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. β'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *Hunter* III p. 180, 288-9

100. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. γ'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 213, 512-6; *Hunter* III p. 180, 290-1;
SNGCop Syria 264-6

101. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Ιούλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. δ'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 214, 517-23; *Hunter* III p. 181, 292-6;
SNGCop Syria 267-9

VIII. Philippus Junior, Latin Titles, Group A

102. *Jul. Phil. Caes.*
Coins: Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 238-9

103. *M. Iul. Phil. Caes.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 213-5, 221, 259; *HCC* III 1-3
Dacia ("Provincia Dacia") -- *BMC Thrace* p. 14, 7; *SNGCop Thrace* 130
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 307
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 158
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 114, 29-30; *SNGCop Thrace* 550
Thrace (Messembris) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 135, 20-3
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7569
Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 276-7
Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 26
Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 24, 40-3; *Hunter* III p. 229, 5

104. *M. Iul. Phil. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 216-20, 255-8; *HCC* III 4-10, 12-20

105. *Phil. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 40
Coins: Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Acre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 136-7, 45-6

106. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4621 (cf. *AE* (1952) 124)
Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6947
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 25842²⁹
Numidia -- *Marcelli-Jaubert* 1980, 167 no. 11
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 222, 260-1; *Gnechi* I p. 49, 1

107. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n.*

Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 54

108. *M. Iul. Severus (sic) Phil. nob. Caes. n.*

Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 53/IMSM 11

²⁹Philip Senior was also included on this inscription originally; however, his titles are now too obscured to be read with any certainty.

109. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 312 nos. d & e

110. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 4227Italy -- *CIL* XI 5644Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22127³⁰Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 256c, 258d; *Gnechi* II p. 97, 6, 7111. *M. Iul. Severus (sic) Phil. nob. Caes. nob. princ. iuv.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3049/ILS 512112. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 310 no. 2

Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 170 no. 18

Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1892) 11731113. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22314a114. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Noricum -- *RIS* 258³²115. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5719/Wurm 1975, 311-2 no. c116. *Imp. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 182, no. 38

³⁰This stone also contained the titulature of Philip Senior originally. The first half is now, however, lost.³¹This stone is badly damaged. It also contained titulature for Philip Senior, which cannot now be read.³²Weber (*RIS* ad loc.) originally read, ..*P*(io) *F*(elic) *I*(nvicto) *Aug*(usto). Wurm 1975, 317 n. 14, however, has re-read the stone, and claims that there is no *I*(nvicto).117. *Imp. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 223-4, 230-1; *HCC* III 23-7, 31
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 26118. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 226-7, 229, 263; *HCC* III 21-2, 29-30, 34
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 27; *SNGCop Thrace*
159-60
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 240-4; *HCC* III 39
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 69, 139119. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. fil. d. n.*Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 69070, 144-5120. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 228, 267b; *Gnechi* I p. 49, 1121. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 69, 140-3; *SNGCop Palestine*
20

IX. Philippus Junior, Latin Titles, Group C

122. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. II*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 225, 265; *HCC* III 33, 35-7123. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 232, 234³³³³Though these coins appear to give Philip Junior the second half of the standard formula, it is more probable that we are dealing with the titles of his father. See *RIC* III.2, 102 and *HCC* III xcii.

124. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 262; *HCC* III 28
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 233

125. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 96, 1, 2

126. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 96, 3-5

127. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 235-9; *HCC* III 38

X. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group A

128. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Coins: Bithynia (Cretia-Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 528

129. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Coins: Asia (Daldis) -- *SNGAul* 2937

130. Ιουλ. Σεουφρός (sic) Φιλ.
Coins: Lycia (Prostana) -- *SNGAul* 5150

131. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καισ.
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 139

132. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καισ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 14
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 64, 67-8
Thrace (Bizya) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 91, 15
Thrace (Messembria) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 666-8
Macedonia (Sestus) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 200, 19
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 444-5, 6965

Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 681-5, 7052-3; *KBM* 119-25
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 835-45, 7125
Pontus (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 86
Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 2930
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1914
Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 7242
Asia (Hierapolis) -- *SNGAul* 3660-1
Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3667
Asia (Kotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3788
Asia (Laodiceia) -- *SNGAul* 3864-5, 8421-2
Asia (Laodiceia & Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 3869
Asia (Saitta) -- *SNGAul* 3105
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2320-2
Asia (Temenothyrae) -- *SNGAul* 8452-3
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3445
Cappadocia (Laranda) -- *SNGAul* 5401
Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 276-7

133. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουφρός (sic) Φιλ. Καισ.
Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4912
Cilicia (Casae) -- *SNGAul* 5612

134. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *KBM* 128-32

135. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καισ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2467
Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3325
Cilicia (Soloi-Pompeipolis) -- *SNGAul* 5896
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 85; *KAK* 2782 ff.

136. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουφρός (sic) Φιλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Ariassos) -- *SNGAul* 5007
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4706-7

137. Αυτ. Φιλ.
Coins: Achaea (Troezen) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 168, 25

138. Aut. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Coins: Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) – *SNGAul* 2064

139. Aut. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) – *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 13

140. Aut. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Coins: Asia (Colophon) – *SNGAul* 2020

141. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Coins: Asia (Cibyra) – *SNGAul* 3753
Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) – *SNGAul* 2063
Asia (Magnesia on the Sipylos) – *SNGAul* 3007
Asia (Temnos) – *SNGAul* 1679-80
Galatia (Ancyra) – *SNGAul* 3446
Lycia (Sagalassos) – *SNGAul* 5190-1

142. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Σεουνήρος (sic) Φιλ.
Coins: Lycia (Isinda) – *SNGAul* 5044, 8596
Lycia (Sillyon) – *SNGAul* 4886

143. Aut. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναιότατος
Papyri: *P. Lond.* III 950, 1-2³⁴

144. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) – Milne 1933, p. 85; *KAK* 2795 ff.

145. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Σεουνήρος (sic) Φιλ. Ευτ. (?)
Coins: Lycia (Perge) – *SNGAul* 4710

³⁴Bureth (p. 115, no. 9) lists this papyrus with the formula, [Αύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ ?] Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Φιλιππος γενναιότατος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός. The correct reading (ap. Sijpesteijn, 1982, 108) is (lines 1-2): [έ]γενος ἐβόμου Αύτοκράτορος Κέσαρος / Ἰούλιος Φιλιππος γεννεοτάτου [] space. It seems a bit odd that Philip Junior should be mentioned without his father (this is unique in the papyri); however, the presence of γεννεοτάτος, forces the presumption that the son is intended.

146. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Σεουνήρος (sic) Φιλ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Magydos) – *SNGAul* 4643

147. Aut. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Asia (Hierapolis) – *SNGAul* 8385

148. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Asia (Miletopolis) – *SNGAul* 1317

149. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) – *BMC Syria* pp. 219-20, 564-77; *Hunter* III p. 183, 308, 310-7; *SNGCop Syria* 278
Syria (Cyrhus) – *BMC Syria* p. 137, 34; *Hunter* III p. 135, 19
Syria (Hierapolis) – *BMC Syria* p. 145, 57-8; *SNGCop Syria* 64
Syria (Laodicea ad Mare) – *BMC Syria* p. 263, 112-3; *SNGCop Syria* 367
Syria (Samosata) – *BMC Syria* pp. 122-3, 53-66; *Hunter* III p. 130, 35
Syria (Zeugma) – *BMC Syria* pp. 128-9, 35-47; *Hunter* III p. 132, 19; *SNGCop Syria* 35
Mesopotamia (Nisibis) – *Hunter* III p. 316, 5-8
Arabia (Philippopolis) – *BMC Arabia* p. 43, 10; *Hunter* III p. 300, 1

150. Aut. Καισ. M. Ιουλ. Σεουνήρος (sic) Φιλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Perge) – *SNGAul* 4703-5, 4708-9, 8517-8
Lycia (Sillyon) – *SNGAul* 4887, 8556

XI. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group B

151. M. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καισ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) – *BMC Syria* p. 217, 549-50

XII. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group C

152. Αὐτ. Κατ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δῆμος εξ. υπ. γ'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 218, 551-6; *Hunter* III p. 183, 308

153. Αὐτ. Κατ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δῆμος εξ. υπ. δ'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 218, 557-63

XIII. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group A

154. *Phil. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1645/*ILS* 2773

155. *dd. nn. Phil. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 315/*RIB* 915
Dacia -- *AE* (1939) 28/*OR* 82/*IDR* II 327/*Speidel* 1978, 119-22/*Petolescu* 1981, 283-5³⁵
Arabia -- *AE* (1899) 100/*CIL* III 14149.5/*ILS* 9005

156. *sanctissimi dd. nn. Phil. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* X,2 216

157. *Phil. Aug. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1897) 6; *CIL* III 12685

158. *M. Iul. Phil. Aug. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 56

³⁵The first line of this inscription must be partially restored. Speidel (loc. cit.) suggests, *{Sancti} ss dd nn*, whereas the other editors have *{Impp. Caes} ss dd nn*. Speidel's case is plausible, thus I have adopted his reading. Note also that Petolescu (loc. cit.) does not refer to Speidel's article.

159. *d. n. Phil. Aug. et Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *CIL* III 8113

160. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Phil. Aug. n. fil. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5705/*Wurm* 1975, 312 no. f

161. *Imp. et Caes. Phill. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1567/*ILS* 4140³⁶

162. *M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2830 (=32555)

163. *Impp. dd. nn. M. Iul. Phil. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1960) 356/*IDR* V 124

164. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8905/XVII 341

165. *M. Iul. Phil. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12686

166. *Imp. Gaius (sic) Iul. M. Phil. Pi. Aug. et Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1934) 166/*ISM* I 349

167. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *ILTG* 484/*CIL* XVII 522

168. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1380

169. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5531/*RSS* 26/*GA* 110/*CIL* XVII 133

³⁶See also 24 above.

170. *dd. nn. Imp. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8873/XVII 324; *CIL* XIII 8878/XVII 330

171. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug. fil.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1910) 217/*AE* (1924) 26/*ILG* 518³⁷

172. *Imp. dd. nn. Phil.*
Coins: Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 287, 26

173. *Imp. dd. nn. Phil. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1972) 678/*AE* (1985) 84938

174. *Imp. Caess. Phil. Aug.*
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 66-7, 129-34³⁹

175. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. M. Jul. Phil. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 2384⁴⁰

176. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- Labrousse 1980, 247

177. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Inv. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. Caes. n.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 128/*IRT* 880

178. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Inv. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4626

³⁷ Lines 4 ff., [pro salute d(ominum) n(ostrorum) Imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) [M(arci) Iuli / Philippi Pi] Fel(icis) Aug(usti) fet M(arci) Iuli / Philippi nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris) Aug(usti) [fil(ii)]. See also 24 above.

³⁸ See also 235 below.

³⁹ These coins actually read, II MM CC P FILIPPIS AVGG.

⁴⁰ Imp(eratori) Caes(aris) / M(arco) Iulio / Philippo / M(arco) Iulio Philip/po... / pr[incipi] iuvent[us] / FO...

179. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1898) 102/*OGIS* 519/*IGRR* IV 598/*CIL* III 14191/Williams 1986, 8⁴¹
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1954) 110/*LAM* II 359⁴²

180. *M. Jul. Phil. Caes. nob. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8971/Alföldy 1984a, 247-53 no. 2/Alföldy 1984b, no. 73

181. *M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4556

182. *Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1985) 765
Asia -- *CIL* III 12270/*IMM* 257/*IK* 17,1 3164⁴³
Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 182/*CIL* III 6914,⁴⁴ 6915, 6942, 6946, 12206

183. *M. Jul. Phil. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *AE* (1971) 184

⁴¹ See also below 270. This stone was originally published by J.G.C. Anderson, 'A Summar in Phrygia: I' *JHS* 17 (1897) 417-22 no. 20, who read the Latin titulature in line 1 as, *Imp. Caes. M. [Jul] Philippus Pius Felix Aug. / et M. Jul. Philippus / s n[on] obliu[i]s[us] Caes.* In an article discussing this important document, the titles *Pius* and *Felix* were, without explanation, deleted -- A. Schulten, 'Libello dei coloni d'un demanio imperiale in Asia' *MDAI(R)* 13 (1898) 232. This reading was then taken up by Dittenberger and is now repeated by Williams, while the *CIL* editors stuck by Anderson's original reading. Although I have seen no photo, the transcriptions in Anderson's article and in the *CIL* clearly indicate that *Pius* and *Felix* must have been included.

⁴² See also above 26.

⁴³ See also below 272.

⁴⁴ [I]mp(eratori) [Caesar / Marcus Iulius Philippus Pius / Invictus Aug(ustus) / et M]arcus Iulius Philippus / nobilissimus / Caesar. Although Mommsen does not here restore *Felix*, it seems likely that the epithet belongs in this inscription.

184. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. perpetuus et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1179/*RISC* 165/*RIB* 2284⁴⁵

185. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. MM. Iull. Phil. Pi. Fel. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 793/*CIL* XIV 2258/*ILS* 505⁴⁶

186. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv. d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. fil.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 48

187. *Imp. Caess. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6562/*RSO* 73⁴⁷

188. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 12089/*IALux* 62/*CIL* XVII 542⁴⁸

189. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8809/*ILS* 5785

XIV. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group B

190. *dd. nn. Phil. Augg. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1624/*CIL* XIV 170/*ILS* 1433

⁴⁵Perpetuus is the reading given by *RISC* and *RIB*, but not by *CIL*. Though I have not seen a photo of the stoa, I take the more recent publications to be correct.

⁴⁶See above 16.

⁴⁷RSO restores the stone thus: *Imp(eratores) Caes(ares) [M(arco) Iul(ius) Phi]lip/pus] P(ius) F(elix) Invict(us) Aug(ustus) [et M(arco) Iul(ius) /Phi]lippus/s P(ius) F(elix) [Au]g(ustus)]*.

⁴⁸[I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) [Iul(ius) / P]hilippo Pio Fel(ici) / Invicto Augusto et / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iul(ius) / Phi]lippo Pio / F]el(ici) Invicto Aug(usto)].

191. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *AE* (1935) 104/*CIL* XVII 653

192. *Imp. Jul. Phil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Jul. Phil. p. p. (sic) pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 27/*EE* viii 772

193. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. Junior*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22426

194. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4631

195. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1178/*RIB* 2286

196. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3718

197. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8889/XVII 308

198. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup -- *CIL* III 4684/*Weber* 1968-71, 142 no. 20

199. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21952

200. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10627⁴⁹

⁴⁹Walser (*CIL* XVII 590 = XIII 9157) restores this titulature; but the restoration is most insecure.

201. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
 Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1890) 87/EE viii 743⁵⁰
 Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 497
 Africa -- *AE* (1908) 73⁵¹

202. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1076/*CIL* VIII 21974

203. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10022

204. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 5753/*Weber* 1968-71, 133-4 no. 1152

205. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22397/*ILS* 587⁵²

⁵⁰The names of both father and son have been erased; however, the inscription can be dated to their reign because of the mention of P. Aelius Valens as procurator, datable to A.D. 248 (*PIR*² A 275).

⁵¹*Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) [Iuli] Philippi Pi. Felicis Aug(usti) pon(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) ? co(n)sul(is) ? p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)sul(is) et / M(arci) Iuli Philippi nobil(isimi) Caes(aris) [pr]in[cipis] iuventutis.*

⁵²*Imp(eratoris) Caes(ar) [M(arco) / Iul(io) Philipp(o)] [P(io)] F(elici) / Invicto Aug(usto) / pontififici) max(im)o / trib(unicia) [pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriae) et] / [Imp(eratori) M(arco) Iul(io) Philipp(o)] / nobil(isimo) Caes(ar).*

⁵³The *CIL* editors restore *tr. pot. II*. Dessau does not attempt to restore the iteration. Since there is no way of knowing what the iteration number should be, I have followed Dessau.

206. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1134/*CIL* VIII 22373, 10299

207. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22380

208. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n. fil. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 765/*CIL* III 10640

209. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Aug. n.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1973) 442

210. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 651/*CIL* VIII 10317 (= 22381)

211. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos. Augg.*
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1973) 561

212. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Junior Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *OR* 450/*IDR* II 500⁵⁴

213. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 758/*CIL* III 10619/*ILS* 507; *CIL* III 14354.6

⁵⁴See also below 236.

214. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Phil. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 7997

XV. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group C

215. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10049, 10077 (=22057)

216. *max. et Inv. ac super omnes foriissimus Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Pers. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1097/ILS 506

217. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1924) 655

218. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup -- *CIL* XIII 9100/XVII 632;⁵⁵ *CIL* XIII 9108/RSO 217/*CIL* XVII 640

219. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* XVI 149⁵⁷

220. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et nob. Caes. fil.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1891) 78

⁵⁵The tribunician iteration is here restored. See also 22 above.

⁵⁶The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.

⁵⁷Again, the tribunician iteration is restored.

221. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 594/*CIL* VIII 22089, 10078 (=22059)⁵⁸

222. *d. n. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes.*
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* IV 720

223. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 605/*CIL* VIII 22107

224. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6107

225. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: ? (now in Paris) -- *CIL* XVI 150
Italy -- *CIL* XVI 151/*Pais* 941

226. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 814 (=12344)/ILS 508

227. *Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. coss.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *ILPG* 130

228. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. II Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.3 197

229. *Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. coss.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *Puerta & Styloc* 1985, 330-1

⁵⁸The tribunician iteration is here restored.

230. *Impp. II Phil. Augg. cos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 14354.19

231. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. II et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2134

232. *dd. nn. Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 32414/ILS 4930

233. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10169

234. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3203

235. *Impp. Phil. III et Phil. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1985) 84959

236. *Imp. Phil. Aug. III et Imp. Phil. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *OR* 450/IDR II 50060

237. *Impp. dd. nn. Phil. Augg. III et iterum cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6552/ILS 2605/RJBW 456/RSO 8

238. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. des. III et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II des. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 896 (LIII)/*CIL* X 3335/*CIL* XVI 152⁶¹

⁵⁹See also 173 above. Also for these two as *II et III cos.*, see Gnechi II p. 99, 16 and p. 100, 2, 3. Further, Gnechi II p. 97, 4 has them as *Gemin. max. Capp. max. II et II cos.*

⁶⁰See also above 212.

⁶¹See also below 239.

239. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III desig. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. desig. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 896 (LIII)/*CIL* X 3335/*CIL* XVI 152⁶²

240. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. III et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 897 (LIV)/*CIL* V 4056/*CIL* XVI 153⁶³

241. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 897 (LIV)/*CIL* V 4056/*CIL* XVI 153⁶⁴

242. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. V procos. tr. pot. p. p. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. II procos. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- French 1981, 153 no. 565

243. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V (?) cos. III p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fil. d. n. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 739/*CIL* X 8001/ILS 511⁶⁵

244. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. V cos. IV procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. junior Imp. cos. procos. princ. iuv. fil. Phil. Aug. restitutores orbis totius*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1888) 8/*CIL* III 8031/ILS 510/IDR II 324

⁶²See also above 238.

⁶³See also 241.

⁶⁴See also above 240.

⁶⁵The iteration numbers given after the title *Augustus* for both Philips are odd. French suggests reading *n/ostro* for both. It may be, however, that these were intended to be tribunician iterations.

⁶⁶The iteration number of Philip Senior's tribunician power comes at the end of line 4 and is damaged. Mommsen says that the numeral appears to be V. See also Dessau's note in *ILS*.

245. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III procos. p. p. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. p. p. princ. iuv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL VIII* 8323 (=20139) / *ILS* 513

XVI. Philippus Senior and Junior, Greek Titles, Group A

246. Φιλλ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 1 (4); *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3298, 19

247. Φιλιππιανο!
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 2 (1)

248. Μαρρ. Ιουλλ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 5 (3); *P. Oxy.* XL 2913 iii, 3-4

249. οι κυρρ. Φιλλ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 3 (1)

250. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. οι κυρρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 3 (1)

251. Φιλλ. Καισσ.
Papyri: *O. Ont. Mus.* II 221, 3-4

252. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Καισσ. οι κυρρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 6 (3); *P. Oxy.* XLII 3046, 11-3; 3049 A, 9-10; XLIV 3179, 1-2; L 3565, 8-10

253. οι Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Arabia – *IGRR* III 1363⁶⁷

254. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 4 (2)

255. ΓΓ. (sic) Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Coins: Asia (Mylasa) -- *SNGAul* 2634

256. οι δεσπόται τῆς οἰκουμένης ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Syria – *AE* (1908) 274
Arabia – *IGRR* III 1197

257. οι κυρρ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Egypt – *IGRR* I 1093 / *AEIGL* 87
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 4 (2)

258. οι κυρρ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Arabia – *IGRR* II 1196
Papyri: *O. Leid.* 261, 1-2

259. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Syria – *SGLI* 795
Egypt – *CIG* 5008; 5010 / *IGRR* I 1330; 5069 / *OGIS* 210
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 5 (5)

260. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 6 (2); *O. Leid.* 169, 1-3

261. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Καισσ. οι κυρρ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 6 (5); *P. Oxy.* XLII 3049 B, 12-3

⁶⁷The stone is dated to year 142. Assuming that this corresponds to the era dating of Bostra, then the date of the inscription is A.D. 246.

262. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. υἱὸς τοῦ θειοτάτου Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 27, 41

263. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 7 (2)

264. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1944) 16/*IGBulg* 1566⁶⁸

265. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 758/*IGBulg* 1591⁶⁹

266. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Coins: Asia (Stektorion) -- *SNGAul* 3961, 8441
Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 216, 535-8; *Hunter* III p. 182, 302-3

267. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1093

268. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. τοῦ θειοτάτου Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
υἱὸς ὁ νέος Ἡλιος Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1907) 45/*IDB* 66/*IGRR* I 1480/*IGBulg* 1511⁷⁰

⁶⁸[Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ] θειότατον Αύτοκράτορα Μ(άρκου) Ιούλιον Φιλίππον Ε)ύστε[β]ή Εύτυχή Σεβ(αστὸν)
υἱὸν τοῦ / μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου Αύτο[κράτορος Μ(άρκου)] Ιούλιον Φιλίππου / Εύσεβοῦς Εύτυχοῦς
Σεβ[αστοῦ].

⁶⁹Lines 3 II., τῷ [Αύτ]ε[κρ]άτορος [Καίσαρος / Μ(άρκου)] Ι[ο]υ[λίου] (Φ)ι[λίππο]θ[ε]υ[κα]τ[α]ρος /
Καίσαρο[ς] Μ(άρκου) [Ιούλιου] [Φιλίππου].

⁷⁰Lines 2 II., [Αύτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκου)] Ιούλιον / Φιλίππον τοῦ θειοτάτου Αύτο[κράτορος Καίσαρος]
Μ(άρκου) Ιούλιον / Φιλίππον Εύσεβοῦς Εύτυχοῦς / Σεβ[αστοῦ] καὶ τῆς θεοφύλεστά[της Σεβα/στῆς]
Μαρκίος Ὀτανίλιος Σεουσίρος / υἱὸν τοῦ ν[ε]όν Ἡλιον Εύσεβη / Εύτυχη Σεβ[αστοῦ].

269. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναιότατος Καισ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 8 (3);⁷¹ *P. Mich.* XI 609, 39-44

270. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. επιφ. Καισ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1898) 102/*OGIS* 519/*IGRR* IV 598/*CIL* III 14191⁷²

271. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναιότατος καὶ επιφ. Καισ.
Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 9 (14);⁷³ *P. Oxy.* XLII 3047, 40-2; 3049 A, 21-3; L
3565, 29-35; 3566, 8-12; *P. Wisc.* II 86, 34-6; *P. Laur.* I 4, 7-8; *CPR*
VIII 17, 4-6

272. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. θεοφύλεστατος Καισ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 12270/*IMM* 257/*IK* 17, 1 3164⁷⁴

273. Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 1 (8); *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2854, 33-5; XLIV 3177, 22-5;
3178, 14-6; *Pap. Lugd. Bai.* XIX 14, 1-3

274. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 7 (1)

275. Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Καρππ. μεγγ. Γερμπ. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (2)

⁷¹*Bureth* includes *P. Amh.* 81, 20 under this formula. Sijpesteijn 1984, 76 has demonstrated that the papyrus belongs, however, with 267 below.

⁷²See also above 179.

⁷³According to *Bureth*, *SPP* XX 53, 30 has ὁ λεπότατος rather than γενναιότατος. The reading has been corrected by Sijpesteijn 1982, 193.

⁷⁴See also above 182.

276. Αυττ. Καισα. οι κυρρ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Καριπ. μεγγ. Γερμη. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)

277. Αυττ. Καισα. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλλ. Παρθθ. μεγγ. Γερμη. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Παρθθ. μεγγ. Γερμη. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)

Traianus Decius

(ca. September 249 - ca. early June 251)

*C(aius) Mes(sius) Qu(intus) Trai(anus) Dec(ius)
Qu(intus) Her(ennius) Etr(uscus) Mes(sius) Dec(ius)¹
C(aius) Val(ens) Host(ilianus) Mes(sius) Qu(intus)*

I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 29.1 At Declus, Sirmiensium vico ortus, militiae gradu ad imperium
conspiravera, laetiorque hostium nece filium Etruscum nomine Caesarem facit...*

*Epit. de Caes. 29.1-2 Decius e Pannonia inferiore, Bubaliae natus, imperavit menses
triginta. Hic Decium filium suum Caesarem fecit...*

*Eutrop. 9.4 Post hos Decius e Pannonia inferiore, Budaliae natus, imperium
sumpsit...filium suum Caesarem fecit...cum biennio imperassent ipse et filius, uterque in
barbarico interfici sunt. inter Divos relati.*

*Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.21.1-3 ...Decius, civilis belli incitor et repressor, occisis
Philippis...invasit imperium...idemque filium suum Caesarem legit...*

II. Decius, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *d. n. Dec. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL IX 4056/ILS 521*

¹Although it appears not really to have been part of Herennius Etruscus' name, some of the coins from the East and a few of the inscriptions add *C(aius)*.

2. *d. n. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4011/*Allug* 478
3. *Imp. Qu. Mes. Dec. Trai.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13309, 13310
4. *Imp. Trai. Dec. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-9, 42a; *HCC* III 1-4
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *Hunter* I p. 405, 5
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 17-8, 29-31
5. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2277²
6. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1479
7. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8939/*Besnier* 1926, 344 no. 5/*CIL* XVII 376;
CIL V 6780/*Inscript. Ital.* XI,2 43
8. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel.*
Coins: Bithynia (Apameia-Myrleia) -- *SNGAul* 6922⁴

²The inscription breaks after *Messius*. One might restore *Qu. Traianus Decius*, but not much else with any certainty.

³The inscription breaks after *Decio*.

⁴This coin reads, *IMP C C MES Q TRAIA DECCIVS P K*. As the *SNGAul* editors note, *P K* must be a mistake, and should be understood as *P F*.

9. *Imp. Caes. Trai. Dec. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 33-43;⁵ *HCC* III 21-6
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4977
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 52a
10. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 10-32, 101g, 111-31; *HCC* III 5-20, 32-57;
Gnechi II pp. 49 & 101
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 131
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 161-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 44-9, 51, 53-4
Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 25, 44-76
11. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1966) 224⁷
Asia -- *Frei-Korunsky* 1986, 91 no. 1
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 101-10; *HCC* III 27-31
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4976
Palestine (Aelia Capitolina) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 99-100, 96-102, 153,
156 ff.; *SNGCop Palestine* 26
Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 30-2, 144-51; *Hunter* III p.
277, 8; *SNGCop Palestine* 11⁸
12. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2831 (=32557)

⁵These coins, as well as various others of Decius, were assigned by Mattingly to the mint at Milan. It is now clear, however, that they belong to the Rome mint. See K.J.J. Elks, "Reattribution of the Milan Coins of Trajan Decius to the Mint of Rome" *NC* 7.12 (1972) 111-5.

⁶Of these coins only no. 46 is entirely legible.

⁷The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

⁸This coin is nearly illegible.

13. *Imp. Caes. d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1171/*RIB* 2268;⁹ *CIL* VII 1181/*RIB* 2278¹⁰
14. *Imp. Qu. Trai. Dec. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1163/*RIB* 2263¹¹
15. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 28; *Hunter* I p. 408, 19-20
16. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1180/*RIB* 2276
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 8286, 10048
Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12515/*ISM* 1 322¹²
Bithynia -- *AE* (1951) 29/*IK* 31, 55; *IK* 10,1 14¹³
Galatia -- *AE* (1985) 811
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22457, 22541
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 32, 152, 154
17. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1951) 142

⁹ *Id(omino) n(ostro) / Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / G(aio) Mes(s)io Q(uinto) / Decio Tra(i)ano*... See also above, Gordian III 33.

¹⁰ This stone breaks, and I have restored *Qu. Trai. Dec.*

¹¹ *Imp(eratori) / Q(uinto) Tra(i)ano* (sic) / *Decio / [C(a)e]sa[r] / P(io) F(elici) [—]*. This is the restoration given in *RIB*. I have added *Aug(usto)*.

¹² *Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) [C(aio)] / Messio [Quin]to Tra(i)ano / Deci[o] P(io) Fel(ici) Aug(usto)]*. Restoration of *Pius Felix Augustus* is my suggestion.

¹³ Note that this stone is listed in the section labeled, "Nachträge und Korrekturen zum Band I."

18. *Imp. Caes. C. Qu. Mes. Dec. Trai. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *AE* (1967) 340/*CIL* XVII 556
Noricum -- Forlati Tamaro 1956, 3/Grilli 1960, 223-4
Pannonia Inf. -- Lörincz 1985, 394-6 no. 2¹⁴
19. *Imp. Caes. d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1174/*RIB* 2271

III. Decius, Latin Titles, Group B

20. *Dec. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 7786
21. *Trai. Dec. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 5622/*JLS* 4836
22. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 5752/*Weber* 1968-71, 134-5 no. 12
23. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia/Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 83/*CIL* III 13544¹⁵
24. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Trai. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions:¹⁶ *Lugdunensis* -- *CIL* XIII 8903/XVII 345
Africa -- *EE* vii 600/*CIL* VIII 22098/*CILB* 472

¹⁴ *Ifmp(eratori) Caes(ar) C(aio) Messio / Q(uinto) Tra(i)ano Decio P(io) F(elici) / Invic]t]o Aug(usto)...*

¹⁵ *Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) [C(aius)] M(essius) [Quintus?] / Traianu[s] D]ecio Pio Fe/lic/i] Aug(usto) Pius F(elix) pontifex maximus*. This stone is most poorly executed, both in its cutting and as to the grammar. Still, this seems the likely reading.

¹⁶ Both stones listed here are fragmentary, breaking just after the mention of the tribunician power.

25. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 584/*CIL* VIII 22065; *EE* vii 586/*CIL* VIII 22066; *EE* vii 589/*CIL* VIII 22081

26. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 609; *CIL* XIII 9090/XVII 617¹⁷

27. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. procos. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *IAM* II 103¹⁸

28. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4645/Weber 1968-71, 130-1 no. 8; *CIL* III 4651/Weber 1968-71, 139 no. 17
Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 229 no. 5

29. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* VI 204

30. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1973) 481

31. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31376¹⁹

32. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9101/XVII 633; *CIL* XIII 9109/*RSO* 218/*CIL* XVII 641
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21931

¹⁷The reading given by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) is, [*Imp(eratori)*] *C(aes(ar))* *M(essio)* *Q(uinto)* *Traiano* *Dec(c)io* / *Aug(usto)* *p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia)* / [*pot(estate) co(n)s(ulli) p(atri) p(atriae)*].

¹⁸*Imp(eratori)* *[Caes(ar)]* *C(aio)* *Mes(sia)* *Q(uinto)* *[Traiano]* / *Decio* *[P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto)]* *p(ontifici) m(aximo)* / *proco(n)s(ulli)* / *trib(unicia) p(atr) p(estate) co(n)s(ulli)*.

¹⁹*Imp(eratori)* *Caesa[ri] C(aio)* *Messio* *Q(uinto)* *Traiano* / *Decio Pio F(elici) Invicto Aug(usto)]* / *pontif(ici) max(imo) [~]*.

33. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9126/XVII 628²⁰
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10457; *EE* v 1151/*CIL* VIII 22549²¹

34. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 314 ff.
Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3723 (= 10631); *EE* ii 766/*CIL* III 10641
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10354,²² 10360²³

IV. Decius, Latin Titles, Group C

35. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. I des. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12351/*ILS* 8922

36. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 899/XI 373/XVI 154²⁴

37. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II des. p. p. procos. reparator disciplinae militaris fundator sacrae urbis firmator spei Romanae*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1891) 46/*IDR* II 639

²⁰The *CIL* editors, both old and new, restore lines 3-5 as follows: *[a]no Decio p[er]f[ac]tio(pi) Invicto [Aug(usto)]*. The transcription now given in *CIL* XVII does not show clearly an N as the first readable letter in line 4. Hence, it seems to me more likely that the restoration should be, *[a]no Decio P[er]f[ac]tio / Felici Invicto [Aug(usto)]*.

²¹The tribunician and consular iterations on this stone are not legible.

²²This stone originally contained the titulature of Herennius Etruscus, but that part of the inscription is no longer to read.

²³*[~] / Qui[nt]o Dec[em]tr[i]o Traiano / Invicto Pio Felic[i] Aug(usto)] / p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(ulli) / proco(n)s(ulli).*

²⁴See also 59 below.

38. *Dec. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Italy -- ILS 2190

39. *d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL VI 31849

40. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. pont. max. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Africa -- ILAlg I 4009

41. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4823
Pannonia Sup. -- CIL III 4010/AlJug 477

42. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL X 6564²⁵

43. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 22360

44. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 236-7 no. 2²⁶

45. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. (?) Aug. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4915²⁷

²⁵ [Imp(erator) Caesar C(aius) Messius / Quintus Traianus D(j)ecius Pius / Felix / Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) II p[ro]co(n)s(ul) --.

²⁶ Salama suggests that a tribunician iteration (either II or III) may have been included on this ston.

²⁷ [Imp(erator) Caesar / C(aius) Mess(ius) Quin(tus) Trajanus De(c)ius / [In]victo [Pio ? Au]g(usto) Fel(ici) / p[ont]ifex / trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) II p[atri] p[atriae].

46. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- AE (1965) 118/CIL XVII 587
Numidia -- CIL VIII 10313-4, 10318; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 166-7 no. 10

47. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. procos. tr. pot. II cos. II*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- AE (1942-43) 113²⁸

48. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 8023, 8028
Dacia -- CIL III 1176/ILS 514

49. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 1372

50. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- CIL XIII 8865/XVII 314
Noricum -- KRS 325²⁹

51. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. ponu. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 2068/Alföldy 1984b, no. 154; Alföldy 1984b, no. 63³⁰

52. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Alpes -- CIL XII 11

²⁸ [Imp(erator) Caesar / C(aius) Mess(ius) Quin(tus) Trajanus Decius P(ius) F(elix) I[n]victus Aug(ustus) p[ontifici] m(aximus) / proco(n)s(ul) / trib(unicia) p[otestate] II [co(n)s(ul) II].

²⁹ [I]mp(erator) Caesar / C(aius) Mess(ius) Quin(tus) Trajanus Decius P(ius) F(elix) I[n]victus Aug(ustus) / p[ontifici] m(aximus) / trib(unicia) p[otestate] III c)o[n]s(ul) II p[ater] p[atriae].

³⁰ On this ston the order of the titles *pater patriae* and *proconsul* is reversed.

53. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. III cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* III 7

54. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. procos. IV (sic) cos. II*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4833

55. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4835

56. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 6219

57. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4809, 4813; *EE* viii p. 468 no. 226

58. *Imp. Caes. Aug. C. Mes. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4812

59. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. des. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III² p. 899/XI 373/XVI 154³¹

60. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. (?) cos. III*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 483632

61. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. restitutor
sacrorum et libertatis*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1973) 235

³¹See also above 36.

³²[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Messio / Quinto Traiano / Decio Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) / pont(ifici)*]
max(im)o tr(ibunici) pot(estate) / proco(n)s(uli) 7 cjo(n)s(uli) III f---. The restoration suggested here is similar
to *CIL* II 4835, 55 above.

62. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. III pont. max. cos. III p. p.*
procos.
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* viii p. 477 no. 249³³

V. Decius, Greek Titles, Group A

63. ΔΕΚ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3298, 22

64. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τραϊ. ΔΕΚ.
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1185

65. Γ. ΜΕΣ. ΚΥ. ΤΡΑΙ. ΔΕΚ. ΚΑΙΣ. ὁ κυρ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3180, 1-2

66. ΔΕΚ. ΣΕΒ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 1 (1)

67. ΤΡΑΙ. ΔΕΚ. ΣΕΒ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)

68. Γ. ΜΕΣ. ΤΡΑΙ. ΔΕΚ. ΣΕΒ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 3 (1)

69. Γ. ΜΕΣ. ΚΥ. ΤΡΑΙ. ΔΕΚ. ΣΕΒ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 4 (2)

70. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τραϊ. Δεκ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116 (1)

³³[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Messio / [Q(uinto) Trai]no Decio / [P(io) Fel(ici) Inv]icto Aug(usto) /*
fbib(unicia) pot]estatis (sic) III / [pont(ifici) max(im)o cjo(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriae) / [proco(n)s(uli)]--.

71. Αυγ. Δεκ. Σεβ.
Coins: Mesopotamia (Edessa) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 117-8, 166-72; *Hunter III* p. 315, 82-3

72. Αυτ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1919

73. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Γ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1899) 4

74. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1932) 28/IGBulg 2009

75. Αυτ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Apamea) -- *SNGAul* 8349
Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 5014

76. Αυτ. Καισ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Coins: Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 8058
Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2023
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1917-8
Asia (Hypaipa) -- *SNGAul* 2970-1
Asia (Kibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3755-6
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2324, 2326

77. Αυτ. Καισ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 140
Asia (Lampsacus) -- *SNGAul* 1309
Cilicia (Kelenderis) -- *SNGAul* 5653

78. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR IV* 771
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5192

79. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1916

80. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ.
Coins: Asia (Aigai) -- *SNGAul* 1601
Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2022
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1915
Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1419-20
Asia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 3085
Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 8451
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2813, 2815, 2817-8
P. Oxy. XLII 3071, 1934

81. Αυτ. Καισ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ. Ευσ.
Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5315-6

82. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραλ. Ευσ.
Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 855835
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5045
Lycia (Tityassos) -- *SNGAul* 8642
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933 p. 90; *KAK* 2808 ff.

83. Αυτ. Καισ. Τραλ. Δεκ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 849
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1025-8

84. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραλ. Δεκ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7056;³⁶ *KBM* 135-6

85. Αυτ. Καισ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5537

³⁴All that is actually preserved of the titulature here is, [Τ]ραλοῦ Δεκιου. The rest has been restored by the editor.

³⁵This coin reads, ΕΥ ΣΒ.

³⁶AYT is restored to this coin.

86. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τρα. Σεβ.**
 Coins: Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 8424
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3930-1
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3993
 Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4834
 Cilicia (Lybre) -- *SNGAul* 5703
 Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 283-4
 Mesopotamia (Rhesaena) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 127-32, 10-39; *Hunter* III pp. 317-8, 3-16; *SNGCop Palestine* 245-52

87. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τρα. Δεκ. Σεβ. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντός έθνους ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης ὁ θεοφιλέστατος**
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1924) 141/*SEG* 6 (1932) 794/*AE* (1939) 27

88. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Τρα. Δεκ. Αυγ. Σεβ.**
 Coins: Bithynia (Kios) -- *SNGAul* 515, 7007
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 695; *KBM* 133-4
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 848, 850-2, 7126-30
 Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 7156

89. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τρα. Δεκ. Ευο. Ευτ. Σεβ.**
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 788
 Coins: Asia (Kibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3754
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 5 (43); *P. Alex.* 505, 9-11; *P. Wis.* II 87, 20-3

VI. Decius, Greek Titles, Group B

90. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τρα. Δεκ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.**
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 220-2, 578-99; *Hunter* III pp. 184-5, 318-30; *SNGCop Syria* 281-2

91. **Αυτ. Κατσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τρα. Σεβ. π. π.**
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6065-6

VII. Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group A

92. **C. Mes. Qu. Her. Dec.**
 Coins: Cappadocia (Comana) -- *SNGAul* 8599

93. **Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes.**
 Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 33; *SNGCop Thrace* 165
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 156-61

94. **C. Mes. Qu. Her. Etr. Dec. Caes.**
 Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 35-7, 177 ff.

95. **Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes.**
 Coins: Cilicia (Mallos) -- *SNGAul* 57283⁷⁷

95a. **Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes.**
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* I p. 49

96. **Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes.**
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9102/XVII 634; *CIL* XIII 9110/RSO 219/*CIL* XVI 642
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 138-43, 149, 150, 167-73; *HCC* III 1-8, 14-20

97. **Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.**
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3735/*JRV* 14
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 144-8; *HCC* III 9-13, 21-3

98. **Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Aug. princ. iuv.**
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 153a

⁷⁷The editors of *SNGAul* call the obverse legend of this coin "sinnlos." However, the index lists the legend as printed here, which seems to coincide with the published photograph.

99. *Imp. Caes. Her. Etr.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13312100. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Pi. Fel.*Coins: Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAul* 5113101. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 153

VIII. Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group C

102. *Qu. Her. Etr. C. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4953/*RIT* 936³⁸

IX. Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group A

103. *Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ερε. Δεκ.*Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4913104. *Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ.*Coins: Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1421105. *Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.*Coins: Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 8588106. *Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.*Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5320

³⁸This stone contained originally the titles of both Decius and Herennius Etruscus; however, the upper half has been lost. As Alföldy notes, the titles of Decius and his son are here utterly confused.

107. *Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.*Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 90; *KAK* 2826-7108. *Κυ. Ερε. Τραϊ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.*Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5321109. *Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.*Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7057; *KBM* 139-41110. *Κυ. Ετρ. Τραϊ. Δεκ. Σεβ.*Coins: Asia (Animetos) -- *SNGAul* 2896111. *Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Σεβ.*Coins: Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5657112. *Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ερε. Δεκ. Καισ. Σεβ.*Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4711-2

X. Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group B

113. *Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Καισ. δημ. εξ.*Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 224-5, 610-22; *Hunter* III p. 186, 333-6; *SNGCop Syria* 285-7

XI. Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group A

114. *Host. Mes. Qu.*Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *SNGCop Palestine* 12115. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu.*Coins: Palestine (Aelia Capitolina) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 101-2, 108-11

116. *Host. Qu. Caes.*Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 37-8, 189-98117. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes.*

Coin: Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *Hunter I* p. 406, 7
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 34-7; *Hunter I* p. 408,
 21-2; *SNGCop Thrace* 166
 Cilicia (Mallos) -- *SNGAul* 5727
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC IV.3* 193-201; *HCC III* 15

118. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 216b119. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL XIII* 9097/XVII 600; *AE* (1965) 340/*AE* (1967)
 334/*CIL XVII* 603
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 174-9, 212-3; *HCC III* 1-3, 7; *Gnechi II* p. 102

120. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL II* 3736//*IRV* 15
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 180-3, 214-6a, 217-8; *HCC III* 4-6, 8-14;
Gnechi II p. 102

121. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC IV.3* 202-9122. *Imp. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 38123. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 187-8, 191b³⁹

³⁹The obverse legends of these coins actually read, **IMP C MES QVINTVS AVG**. The C, of course, might be an abbreviation of *Caius* rather than *Caesar*.

124. *Imp. Caes. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 186, 190-2, 220-6; *HCC III* p. 254; *Gnechi III* p. 50

125. *Imp. Caes. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC IV.3* 189, 219

XII. Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group C

126. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. tr. pot. II princ. iuv. fil.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL VI* 1102/*ILS* 520⁴⁰

XIII. Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

127. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ.

Coins: Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 3884

128. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Καισ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 697

129. Γ. Ουαλ. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *KBM* 142-3

⁴⁰This inscription originally contained the titulature of Trajan Decius as well, though that part of the stone is now lost.

130. Γ. Οὐαλ. Οοτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ.

Coin: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- SNGAul 696, 698-9, 7058; KBM 144
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- SNGAul 7131
 Lycia (Attaleia) -- SNGAul 4627
 Lycia (Selge) -- SNGAul 5322
 Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 226, 628-9
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 90; KAK 2828-30

XIV. Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group B

131. Γ. Οὐαλ. Οοτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ. δημ. εξ.

Coin: Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 226, 626-7; Hunter III p. 187, 338-9

XV. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group A

132. Imp. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Qu. Caess.

Coin: Arabia (Bostra) -- BMC Arabia p. 26, 48-50

133. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Mes. Qu. Etr. Caes.

Inscriptions: Britain -- EE vii 1104/ix 1253a/RIB 2273

134. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. sanctissimi Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.

Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4058

XVI. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group B

135. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. cos. fil. Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.
 Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL VI 1101/ILS 519

136. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et C. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. et Herennia Etruscilla coniux d. n. Aug. Imp.
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- IMS I 175; JMS IV 124⁴¹

XVII. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group C

137. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. et C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Her. Etr. Dec. Caes.
 Inscriptions: Galatia -- AE (1900) 150/ CIL III 14184.25

138. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et Q. Her. Etr. Mes. nob. Caes.
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4949

139. dd. nn. Dec. II (?) cos.
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- CIL XIII 7440⁴²

140. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. cos. des. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II des. III p. p. procos.
 Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XI 3088 col. i/ILS 518⁴³

⁴¹It seems likely that these two inscriptions are really one and the same. See the comments of Petrović ad IMS IV 124.

⁴²Lines 4-5 read, ...*dd nn* Dec/ia [II ?] / *co(n)s(u)*.

⁴³This stone breaks, thus the tribunician and consular iterations for Decius are restored. See also below 148.

141. *dd. nn. Imp. Dec. Aug. III et Dec. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31129

142. *divus Dec. III et divus Her. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3743 (=31130=36760)

XVIII. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group A

143. Δεκκ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XL 2913 ii, 9

144. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ. Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.
Coins: Mesopotamia (Rhesaena) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 132, 38-9

145. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. δ
σεβασμώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3609, 5-8

146. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. δ
σεβασμώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3608, 1-7; 3609, 11-5

XIX. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group C

147. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. δημι εξ. τὸ γ' υπ. τὸ β'
ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον π. π. αυθυπ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. αρχ. μεγ. δημι
εξ. τὸ πρῶτον υπ. ἀποδεδειγμένος
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reynolds 1982, no. 25

XX. Decius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group C

148. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II des. III p. p. procos.
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3088 col. ii/ILS 51844

XXI. Decius and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

149. δ Θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ουαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν
Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1890) 130/JK 30, 33

XXII. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group A

149a. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. Q. Her. Etr. Dec. et C. Val. Host.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 101

150. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Her. Etr. Qu. Dec. et C. Val. Host.*
Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13321

151. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val.*
Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 12201

⁴⁴See above 140.

152. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. Qu. Etr. Dec. et Her. C. Val. Host. Caess. nobb. fil. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *AE* (1969/70) 525

153. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Trai. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *SILS* 385/ *AE* (1975) 467; Boninu & Stylow 1982, 45-7 no. 4/Sotgiu 1988, A385;⁴⁵ Boninu & Stylow 1982, 47-50 nos. 5 & 6/ Sotgiu 1988, B182⁴⁶

XXIII. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group B

154. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9123/*VII* 624

XXIV. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group C

155. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. et Mess. Dec. et Qu. nobb. Caess. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5988/*ILS* 515/*IBR* 453; *CIL* III 5989/*IBR* 455

⁴⁵ *d(ominus) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Messio / Quinto Traiano Decio Pio Fel(ici) / Aug(usto) et Q(uinto) Herennio Etruso / Messio Decio et C(aio) Val(enti) Hostiliano / Messio Quinto nobilissimus Caesari/bus principibus ius/veniuntis fil(iis) / d(ominus) n(ostri) Trai[an]i Aug(usti).*

⁴⁶ Both of these stones are almost entirely lost. No. 6, with the most text remaining, reads: ... / nobilissimus / Caesaribus / principibus iure/ntibus / fili(i)s d(ominu)s n(ostri) Trai[an]i Aug(usti). See also Sotgiu 1988, add. A385.

156. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10051

157. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II des. III et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. cos. des. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3746/*ILS* 516

158. *Q. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. cos. des. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II des. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1100⁴⁷

159. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Mes. C. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. princ. optimus (?) tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. III procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. cos. et Qu. Val. Host.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4958⁴⁸

160. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. optimus maximusque princ. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. III procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. cos. et C. Val. Host.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4957/*ILS* 517

161. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. II p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. et C. Va. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1942-43) 55

⁴⁷ *[Q(uinto) Herennio Etruso Messio Decio nob(iissimo) Caes(ari) / principi luventu]tis trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul)is desig(nato) et / C(aio) Valentii Hostiliano Messio [Quinto nob(iissimo) / Caes(ari) principi luventu]tis [trib(unicia) pot(estate) fil(i)o] / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)s C(aio)s Messio Quinti [Traiani Decii / Pi Felici)s Augusti pon(ificis) max(im)is tr(ib(unicia) pot(estate) II / co(n)s(ul)is II designat(i) / III pa/tris pa]triae [proco(n)s(ul)is].*

⁴⁸ After *pontifex maximus* this stone has P.O. I have interpreted this on the basis of the next inscription, no. 160.

XXV. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

162. Δεκκ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 1 (2)

163. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Δεκκ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 3 (2)

164. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν καὶ θεούτων Αὐττ. ΓΓ. Μεσσ. Κυν. Τραι. Δεκκ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG XII* 5, 667/*Syll.3* 890

165. Αὐτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. καὶ Γ.
Οὐαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. οἱ σεβασμώτων Καισσ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 2 (3); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2795, 30-8

XXVI. Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group A

166. *Etr. et Qu. Caess.*
Coins: Palestine (Aelia Capitolina) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 101, 107

167. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL VI* 36944⁴⁹

⁴⁹ [Q(uinto) Herennijo Etrusco [Messio Decio et / C(uio) Valenti] Hostilia/no Messio Quinto / nobilissimis
Caesaris--.

XXVII. Herennius and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

168. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Καισ. Γ. Οὐαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 225, 625; *Hunter III* p. 187, 337

XXVIII. Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

169. οἱ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Οὐαλ. Οστ. Κυ. Καισ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116 (1)

Pacatianus

(ca. 21 April 248 - 20 April 249)

Tiberius Claudio Marinius Pacatianus

I. Literary Testimonia

Zonaras 12.19 ἐν δὲ Μυσοῖς Μαρίνος τις ταξιάρχης ὁν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
βασιλεύειν ἤρεθη.

Zosimus 1.20.2 ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ νεωτερίζειν τραπέντα, Ἰωταπιανὸν
παρῆγαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, τὰ δὲ Μυσῶν τάγματα καὶ Παιόνιων Μαρίνουν.

II. Titles

1. *Imp. Ti. Cl. Mar. Pacat. Aug.*

Coin: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – RIC IV.3 pp. 104-5

2. *Imp. Ti. Cl. Mar. Pacat. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coin: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – RIC IV.3 pp. 104-5; HCC II 1-2

Jotapiamus

(ca. 248/249)

Marcus Fulvius ? Rufus ? Jotapiamus

I. Literary Testimonia

vid. sup., Pacatianus

II. Titles

Imp. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap.

Imp. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap. Aug.

Imp. Caes. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap.

Coin: East (uncertain) -- RIC IV.3 p. 105

Silbannacus
(ca. 248/249)

M(arcus) Silb(annacus)

L Titles

Imp. M. Silb. Aug.
Coins: *RIC IV.3 p. 105¹*

Sponsianus
(ca. 248/49)

Spon(sianus)

L Titles

Imp. Spon.
Coins: *RIC IV.3 p. 106*

¹This antoninianus was found in Lorraine, thus was probably minted somewhere in Gaul. Nothing else is known of Silbannacus.

Trebonianus Gallus

(ca. early June 251 - late July/early August 253)

C(aius) Vib(ius) Treb(onianus) Gal(lus)

C(aius) Vib(ius) Afin(ius) Gal(erius) Vel(dumnianus) Volus(ianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Viet. Caes. 30.1 *Haec ubi patres comperere, Gallo Hostilianoque Augusta imperia, Volusianum Gallo editum Caesarem decernunt.*

Eutropius 9.5 *Max imperatores creati sunt Gallus Hostilianus et Galli filius Volusianus.*

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.21.4-5 ...*Gallus Hostilianus...regnum adeptus vix duobus annis cum Volusiano filio obtinuit.*

Sync. Chron. (ed. Dindorf) p. 705, 19-21 καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα βασιλέα πάλαι τινὰ γενόμενον ὑπατού Γάλλον ἀναγορεύουσιν ἡμα Βούλουσιανῷ τῷ Δεκίου παῖδι

Zonaras 12.21 *Κρατεῖ οὖν ὁ Γάλλος...καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Βούλουσιανὸν ἀντιγρέυεσσε Καίσαρα.*

Zosimus 1.24.1 *Παρελθόντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Γάλλου, καὶ συναναδείξαντος ἐπιτῷ τὸν παῖδα Οὐδούσιανὸν βασιλέα...*

II. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Gal. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 46b, 48b

2. *Imp. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- BMC Thrace p. 192, 10-1; Hunter I p. 386, 1
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- SNGAul 1480-13. *Imp. Caes. Gal. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 27-9

4. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- BMC Thrace p. 19, 40-2; SNGCop Thrace 167-8
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- SNGAul 7570
Syria (Damascus) -- BMC Syria p. 287-8, 28-31; SNGCop Syria 4275. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 4-26, 30-46a, 47-8a, 49-65, 69-78, 101-28; HCC III 2-23, 25-51
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- BMC Thrace p. 19, 39
Phoenicia (Tyre) -- BMC Phoenicia pp. 283-5, 436-44; SNGCop Phoenicia 377-8¹
Palestine (Neapolis) -- BMC Palestine p. 72, 15926. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 118-9²

¹Both coins are badly worn. On no. 377, ...VS TREBO GAL... can be read, while the SNG editors read on no. 378, ...TREBO GALLVS AVG.

²The obverse legend reads, [I]M[P]CGVIBT[...]. Hence, the complete formula is conjectural.

³These coins, with *princeps iuventutis* reverse types, are rather odd since Trebonianus Gallus is otherwise not found with this title. I suspect that the coins are hybrids, and that the reverse types belong to Volusian, or some other Caesar.

7. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21989/*CILB* 483⁴

8. *Imp. Caes. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 43; *Hunter* I p. 408, 23-4; *SNGCop Thrace* 169

9. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 38-40, 199-212; *SNGCop Palestine* 13

10. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6006; *AE* (1913) 83
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3122
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 7022 (= 19420)/*ILAlg* II 575/*AE* (1959) 69c
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 8582
Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAul* 5114
Syria (Antioch) -- *RJC* IV.3 79-96; *HCC* III 52-60

11. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5309.26

12. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12728
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10325⁵

⁴Gallus' titulature comes at the end of this milestone. Originally, the stone was set up during the reign of two previous emperors who reigned jointly, and whose names have been erased from the stone. The *CIL* editors accept a conjecture that the emperors in question were Philip the Arab and his son. So too *CILB*.

⁵The stone breaks after (lines 4-5), *Invictus Pius Felix / Augfusus*...

III. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group B

13. *Imp. Caes. Treb. Gal. Inv. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1985) 814

14. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5729⁶

IV. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group C

15. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12687

16. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ELST* 17
Pannonia Sup -- *CIL* III 4720/*ILS* 523/*RJU* III 704

17. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.3 98

18. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 3916

⁶*[Imp(erator)] Caes(ar) / [C(aius) Vibius] Treb[onianus] Gal[lius] / [P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) pont(ifex)] max(imus) / [trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae)]*...

⁷*[Imp(erator)] Caes(ar) / [C(aius) Vibio] Treboniano / [Gallo] Invicto P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) / [pon]i(lifici) max(imo) / [trib(unicia)] potest(ate) II p(atri) p(atriae) / co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(uli)*...

19. *sanctissimus ac super omnes principes clementissimus Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. – *AE* (1971) 335⁸

20. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II (vel IV) cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania – *AE* (1976) 288⁹

21. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC* IV.3 1-3, 99-100; *HCC* III 1, 24

V. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group A

22. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.
Coins: Bithynia (Amastris) – *SNGAul* 6817

23. Γ. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.
Coins: Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) – *SNGAul* 883

24. Τρεβ. Γαλ. ὁ κυρ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3610, 6¹⁰

25. Γ. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Αὐγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 855-7, 7132-4

⁸The tribunician iteration is restored to this inscription.

⁹[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio / Treboniano Gallo / P(io) F(elici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) pontifici) / max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II vel IIII co(n)s(ul) II] / p(atri) p(atriae) pro[co(n)s(ul)]. For the rationale behind this restoration see, P. LeRoux, *RE* 77 (1975) 150.*

¹⁰This papyrus is fragmentary, and also contains (l. 7) the beginning of a more complete formula for Gallus: Αὐτοκρ[άτορο]ς Καίσαρος [—].

26. Αὐτ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.
Coins: Asia (Neapolis) – *SNGAul* 2642-3

27. Αὐτ. Γ. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Apamaea) – *SNGAul* 3513, 8350
Asia (Apamaea & Ephesus) – *SNGAul* 3516
Asia (Apamaea & Caesarea) – *SNGAul* 3517

28. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Γ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.
Inscriptions: Achaea – *IG XII,5* 938

29. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Γ. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.
Coins: Asia (Aizanis) – *SNGAul* 3360
Asia (Colophon) – *SNGAul* 2024
Asia (Eukarpeia) – *SNGAul* 3580, 8364
Lycia (Attaleia) – *SNGAul* 4628-9
Lycia (Perge) – *SNGAul* 4714,¹¹ 8520
Lycia (Sagalassos) – *SNGAul* 5195
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) – *SNGAul* 5848-50
Palestine (Neapolis) – *BMC Palestine* pp. 70-1, 148-54

30. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Γ. Οὐιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Εὐσ.
Coins: Lycia (Perge) – *SNGAul* 4713
Egypt (Alexandria) – Milne 1933, p. 92; *KAK* 2831-40

31. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Γ. Οὐιβ. Γαλ. Αὐγ.
Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea – *BMC Thrace* p. 108, 1-3
Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 700-9, 7059-63; *KBM* 145-64

32. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesaraca) – *SNGAul* 112, 6766

¹¹The legend on this coin is worn, and only the following can still be read: ΑΥ Κ...ΤΡΕ ΓΑΛΛΟΝ.

33. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Kadei) -- *SNGAul* 3692-3
Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3932

34. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Syria (Laodicea) -- *BMC Syria* p. 263, 115
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 71-2, 155-8

35. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 8222
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5046
Cilicia (Karallia) -- *SNGAul* 5609
Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5658
Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5903
Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 229, 653-5; *SNGCop Syria* 292
Syria (Laodicea) -- *BMC Syria* p. 263, 114; *Hunter* III p. 208, 48

36. ὁ τῶν Ἀρματῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1974) 614

37. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Γαλ. Σεβ. γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 626

38. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1937) 1/*SEG* 11 (1954) 122/*ICorinth* 116

VI. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group B

39. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6072-4

40. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6075

41. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 226-7, 630-41; *Hunter* III pp. 187-8, 340-50; *SNGCop Syria* 288-90

VII. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group C

42. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιψ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. τὸ β'
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 228-9, 642-52; *Hunter* III p. 188, 351-3; *SNGCop Syria* 291

VIII. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group A

43. *G. Volus.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31377¹²

44. *Vib. Afin. Volus. Caes.*
Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 193, 12; *SNGCop Thrace* 883

45. *C. Vib. Volus. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 131-3, 240, 243

46. *C. Vib. Volus. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 129-30, 134, 241-2; *HCC* III 1

47. *Imp. Gal. Volus. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 288, 32; *Hunter* III pp. 219-20, 9-10

¹²This stone is just a fragment, with only this much of the text remaining.

48. *Imp. Caes. Volus.*
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) – SNGAul 8584

49. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Volus.*
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) – SNGAul 1482, 7571

50. *Imp. Caes. Volus. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- CIL III 13307, 13316
Coins: Italy (Rome) – RIC IV.3 165
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – BMC Thrace p. 19, 45

51. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Volus. Aug.*
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) – SNGAul 4978-81, 8583

52. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 142-58, 160-4, 166-82, 184-98, 201-13, 246-58,
260-4; HCC III 6-23, 28-47
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- Hunter I p. 406, 8; SNGCop Thrace 133-4
Moesia Sup (Viminacium) -- Hunter I p. 409, 25-6; SNGCop Thrace
170-1
Syria (Antioch) -- RIC IV.3 214-23; HCC III 50
Phoenicia (Tyre) -- BMC Phoenicia pp. 285-6, 445-8; Hunter III p. 271,
60; SNGCop Phoenicia 3791¹³

53. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- RIC IV.3 224-39; HCC III 48-9

54. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) – RIC IV.3 159, 259

55. *Imp. Caes. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- BMC Palestine p. 74, 166-8

¹³All that can be read of the obverse legend is, IMP C G VIB VO.

56. *Imp. Caes. C. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- BMC Palestine pp. 40-1, 213-20

57. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL IX 5431¹⁴
Africa – ILAlg I 2096¹⁵

58. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Noricum – CIL III 4741

59. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia – CIL III 12729

IX. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group B

60. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XI 4780¹⁶

61. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Raetia -- AE (1954) 117

62. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Volus. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- HSE 4/Weber 1968-71, 135-6 no. 13/AE (1973) 430

¹⁴The inscription breaks after *Veldumniano*.

¹⁵This stone breaks after *Volusiano*.

¹⁶The stone breaks after *pontifex maximus*. Note below 63 (e.g.) for a similar formula.

X. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group C

63. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6051

64. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *Pais* 743/*ILS* 524

65. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *CIL* VIII 21829/*ILM* 75/*LAM* II 405

66. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4787

67. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12688

68. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 138-41; *HCC* III 2-4

69. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* III 24-6

XI. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group A

70. *Γ. Ουφ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Bithynia (Cios-Prusias on the Sea) -- *SNGAul* 518

71. *Ουφ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ.*
Coins: Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 5015

72. *Αυτ. Ουφ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Thrace (Maronea) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 131, 90

73. *Αυτ. Καισ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 2932
Asia (Eukarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3581

74. *Αυτ. Καισ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 710-1, 7064

75. *Αυτ. Καισ. Ουφ. Σοβιν. Γαλ.*
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5851

76. *Αυτ. Καισ. Ουφ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 712; *KBM* 165-7

77. *Αυτ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ. Καισ.*
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *KBM* 168

78. *Αυτ. Καισ. Ουφ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Asia (Akmonia) -- *SNGAul* 3380-1

79. *Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουφ. Τρεβ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 73, 160-5; *Hunter* III p. 280, 9

80. *Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5196

81. *Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουφ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5047

82. *Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουφ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.*
Coins: Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4630-1
Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4644
Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5506

83. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.
Coins: Cilicia (Anemurion) -- SNGAul 5524

84. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Ευσ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 92; KAK 2841-7

85. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Ουολουσ. Αυγ.
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- Hunter I p. 397, 35

86. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 231, 665; SNGCop Syria 295

XII. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group B

87. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 230, 658-63; Hunter III p. 189, 357-9; SNGCop Syria 294

XIII. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group C

88. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουενδ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. β.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 230, 664

XIV. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group A

89. *Caess. Gal. et Volus. Fell. Pil.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 8075

90. *dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- CIL VII 949/RIB 2057; CIL VII 949a/RIB 2058

91. *Impp. Treb. Gal. et Vel. Volus. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- Frei-Korunsky 1986, 97 no. 2 & 98

92. *Impp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- CIL VII 1182/RIB 2279
Numidia -- AE (1946) 61/ILAlg II 3596

93. *Impp. dd. nn. sanctissimi et püissimi G. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- AE (1889) 26/EE viii 773/Sotgiu 1988, C121; ILSard 376/AE (1973) 275/Sotgiu 1988, A376

93a. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel.*
Inscriptions: Belgica -- CIL XIII 9039/XVII 511¹⁷

94. *Impp. Caess. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- CIL XIII 8880/XVII 329; ILTG 485/CIL XVII 523¹⁸

95. *Imp. Caes. dd. Gal. et Volus.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- EE vii 628/CIL VIII 22136

96. *Impp. Caess. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- AE (1924) 2/RIB 2230

97. *Impp. Caess. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- CIL VII 1148/RIB 2223

¹⁷ *[Imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio] / Treboniano / G[el]lo et] / Imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) {C(aio) Vibio} / Afinio Gallo / V[el]fumianio / —*

¹⁸ The inscription breaks after, *Volusianus*... Walser (CIL XVII ad loc.) suggests restoring also *P(iis) F(elicibus) Aug(ustus)*.

98. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 67-8
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 44

99. *Imp. Caess. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *AE* (1931) 31

100. *Imp. Caess. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Augg. invictissimi*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10252

101. *Imp. Caess. Vib. Gal. et Volus. Augg. Pii*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 15201/*AIJug* 605

102. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel.*
Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1969/70) 6291¹⁹

103. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Aug. & nob. princ. C. Vib. Volus. Pii. felicissimi*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *Campus* 1977, 411-4 no. 120

104. *Imp. Caess. Gal. et Volus. Pii. Fell. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5518/XIII 9071/*WRJS* 321/*RSS* 49/*CIL* XVII 659

105. *Imp. Caess. Vib. Gal. et G. Vel. (vel Vib.) Volus. Pii. Fell. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1105/ix 1253b/*RIB* 2274

106. *Imp. Caess. C. Vib. Gal. et C. Vib. Volus. Pi. Fel. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *ILJug* II 947

107. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *RRM* I 43d, 51c

¹⁹This inscription is broken after, *{Veldumijeno.*

²⁰This stone is broken after, *{felici}ssimis).*

108. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 9008/XVII 394
Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9056/*RSS* 28/*CIL* XVII 131²¹
Italy -- *CIL* XIV 42/*ILS* 526 (= 4141)
Africa -- *EE* vii 622/*CIL* VIII 22128²²

109. *Imp. Caess. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Salama* 1951/52, 230 no. 6²³

110. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1952) 194/*IMS* IV 127

111. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1976) 597

112. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Pii. Fell. Inv. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 183/*CIL* III 6919; *CIL* III 12196

XV. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group B

113. *dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. coss.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 646/*RIB* 1680

114. *dd. nn. Augg. Gal. et Volus. Augg. coss.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1973) 471/*IMS* II 40b

²¹[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio / Tre]bonia]no Gal[lo] Pio Filici (sic) [Aug(usto) / et Imp(eratori)]
*Caes(ari) / C(aio) Vibio / Afin]o Gal[lo] Vel/dumnie]no [Volu/siano P]io Filici (sic) Aug(usto)].**

²²[*Imp(eratori) Caesari / C(aio) Vibio Trebo/niano Gallo Pi/o Felici Aug(usto) / / Imp(eratori) Caesari /
C(aio) Vibio Afinio / Gallo Veldu/miano Vo/lusiano Pio / Felici Aug(usto)].*

²³The stone breaks after, *Veldumijeno Volusiano.*

115. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg. coss.*Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 8015116. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Pii. Fel. Augg. coss. pp. pp.*Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XIII 9070/*RSS* 48/*CIL* XVII 662116a. *Imp. Caess. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Augg. pont. max. pp. pp. procos.*Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 559117. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug. p. p.*Inscriptions: Dacia -- *EE* ii 453/*CIL* III 8061118. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 760/*CIL* III 10624/*ILS* 522119. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. coss.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10383 (= 22465), 22420, 22424120. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10148121. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Vib. Gal. Vel. Volus. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1093/*CIL* VIII 21993²⁴

²⁴The *CIL* editors print (lines 6-9), *[tis] cos. p. [p. procos. et / C. Vibius Gallus Volusianus nobilissimus / Caes. cel.]*. It will be noted that Gallus and Volusian are more normally given equivalent (or roughly equivalent) titulature. Indeed, Volusian appearing with Gallus and as *nobilissimus Caesar* is rare. However, it is clear that there is not enough room here for *Imp. Caes.* for Volusian, thus it would appear that he must have been given titulature as junior partner.

122. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11330²⁵
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10422²⁶

XVI. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group C

123. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II des. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10046124. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10292²⁷125. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10320126. *Imp. Caess. Treb. Gal. iterum et Afin. Volus. Augg. coss.*Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22563

²⁵The inscription breaks after, *Vibio Afinio Gallo [—]*.

²⁶Volusian's titulature is here slightly garbled, but this seems the right interpretation.

²⁷The stone breaks after, *C(alus) [Vibius Afinius [Gallus]]*. The rest is my suggested restoration.

127. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5538/RSS 17/GA 40/CIL XVII 143²⁸

128. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11344/Weber 1968-71, 143-4 no. 22²⁹

129. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. iterum et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10405 (=22515)

130. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10249

131. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4605/Weber 1968-71, 142-3 no. 21³⁰

132. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. II et Volus. Augg. coss.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- Galsterer 1981, 228-32 no. 3

133. *dd. nn. Imp. Caess. Treb. Gal. iterum et Afin. Volus. Augg. cos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania -- *CIL* VIII 22560

²⁸The inscription breaks after, *Volusiano*. I have restored the rest.

²⁹The stone breaks after (lines 4-5), *Veld/[u]m[n]janus (Volusianus) --*.

³⁰Weber's restoration (loc. cit.) is: *{Im}perator Caes(ar) C(aius) Vib(ius) Treb[on]ianus / Gallus P(ius) F(elix) Inv(ictus) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) / et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Vib(ius) Afl(i)nius Gallus Veld[u]m[n]janus / Volusianus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) / tr(ibunicia) / pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) --*. First of all, if *Invictus* is properly restored for Gallus, then it should probably be given to Volusian as well. And secondly, I do not think that *cos. II* should be restored to Volusian. Rather, he was *cos. (I)*. In these two ways, the titulature that I here give differs from that proposed by Weber.

134. *Imp. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. princ. ponti max. Augg. nn. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1314/CIL VIII 10423 (=22524)

^{*}135. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1953) 12

136. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8885/XVII 336³¹

137. *Imp. Caess. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. II cos. procos. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10213; *AE* (1936) 135³²

138. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRMN* 9³³

139. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. PL Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4859/IRG IV 39

³¹This inscription was very poorly cut, and is printed in *CIL* as follows: *Imper. Caes. / C. Vib. Treb. Gal/lo P. F. Aug. P. P. M. Tri. / bis Cos. P. C. P. P. et / Imp. Caes. C. Vib. / Afin. Gallo / Veld. Volusian. / P. P. Aug. P. F. M. Tri. / bis Cos. P. C. P. P.*

³²The inscription breaks after, *Veldumia/no--*.

³³*{Im}perator Caes(ar) G(aius) Vibio / Treb[on]ianus / [Gallo] Invicto / [Aug(ustus) Pio] Fel(ici) pont(ifici) / m(aximus) tri/b(unicia) pot(estate) III / [co(n)s(ul) pro]co(n)s(ul) et Imp(eratori) / [Caes(ar) Vibio Afinio / Gallo] Veldumianus / [Volusianus] Invicto / [Aug(ustus) Pio] Fel(ici) pont(ifici) / [max(imus) tri/b(unicia) pot(estate) III] ? co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul) --*

140. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. (?) et Imp. Caes. C. Afrin. Gal. Veld. Volus. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II (?) procos. p. p. (?)*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1974) 413/Loriot 1975c/ERZ 13/Otal & Pros 1982, 179-81 no. 4³⁴

141. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afrin. Gal. Veld. Volus. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1104 (= 31240)/*ILS* 525

XVII. Gallus and Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group A

142. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 1 (1)

143. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Ουιβ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ. Σεββ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 534

144. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 2 (1) & p. 117, no. 2 (3)

145. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ. Καισα. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 3 (1)

146. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιω. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3181, 1-3

³⁴Though not the most recent, the best reading of the stone is Loriot's: {*Imp. Caes. / C. Vib(ius) Trebonianus*} / *Gal(lus)* <*p.*> *f.* / *Aug. p. m. tr. <po>[t.] / cos. II procos. p. p. ?*} / et *Imp. Caes. / C. [A]<f>in(ius)* {*Gal(lus)*} / *Veldum<i>an(us)* / *Volusian(us)* <*p.*> / *f. Aug. <p.> m. / [tr. pot. cos. II (?) / procos. p. p. ?*}.

As Loriot notes, the second consulate for Volusian is here questionable.

147. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 4 (1)

148. Αυττ. Καισα. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ. Σεββ.

Coins: *Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea)* -- *SNGAul* 113, 6767-8

149. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσ. Σεββ.

Coins: *Syria (Antioch)* -- *BMC Syria* p. 229, 656-7; *Hunter* III p. 189, 356; *SNGCop Syria* 293

150. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Ουολουσ. Ευσ.

Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIG* 3181/*IGRR* IV 1487/*IK* 24,1 822

151. Αυττ. Καισα. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιω. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Ευσσ.

Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 1 (13); *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2567, 28-32; XLII 3053, 1-4;

XLVI 3288, 12-4; L 3567, 10-3³⁵

³⁵This papyrus has *Aut.* and *Kais.* in the singular.

Aemilianus
(ca. late July - mid-September 253)

M(arcus) Aem(ilius) Aemil(ianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 31 *Igitur his Romae morantibus Aemilius Aemilianus summam potestatem corruptis militibus arripuit...Augustum appellavissent.*

Epit. de Caes. 31.1 Sub his etiam Aemilianus in Moesia imperator effectus est.

Zonaras 12.21 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Αἰμιλιανὸς ὑπερφρουήσας τῷ κατορθώματι, μέτεισι τοῦς ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτοκράτορα. οὗτοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγείρας ἔσπειθε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καταλαβεῖν, ὡς γοῦν εἰς γυνῶσιν θλίθον ταῦτα τῷ Γάλλῳ, κάκεινος ἐτέρωθεν παρασκευασάμενος τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ ἀντιπαρετάξατο, καὶ συρραγέντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατευμάτων ἤτηντο οἱ τοῦ Γάλλου...καὶ ἀνελόντες κάκεινον καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ...προστίθενται τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ ψηφισάμενον.

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: uncertain -- RIC IV.3 29

2. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 1-6, 8-13, 37-42; HCC III 8-19, 27
uncertain -- RIC IV.3 27, 57

3. *Imp. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: uncertain -- RIC IV.3 23-6

4. *Imp. M. Aem. Aemil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- AE (1954) 129
5. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Aug.*
Coins: Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- SNGCop Thrace 135
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- BMC Thrace p. 20, 47-8; Hunter I p. 409,
27; SNGCop Thrace 172-3
Galatia (Antioch) -- SNGAul 4982, 8585
6. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 14-5, 19-22, 43-6, 48-54; HCC III 3-6, 20-6, 28
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- BMC Thrace p. 20, 46
uncertain -- RIC IV.3 28, 55-6, 60-3
7. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 50 no. 4
Numidia -- CIL VIII 10402 (=22508)
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 530/Inscript. Ital. X, 4 26/Alföldy 1984b, no. 27

III. Latin Titles, Group B

9. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.3 36a

10. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Coins: uncertain -- RIC IV.3 591

¹The reverse type of this coin, with the legend P M TR POT S C, is said by the RIC editors to belong to Antoninus Pius.

11. *Imp. Caes. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22473
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1939) 140/*ILSard* 383/Sotgiu 1988, A383
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8011/*ILS* 530; *AE* (1889) 31/EE viii 781a; *EE* viii 782
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *CIL* III 8270/*ILS* 529; *AE* (1910) 175/*IMS* IV 74; *ILJug* II 593
Numidia -- *AE* (1911) 104

IV. Latin Titles, Group C.

15. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 7, 7a; *HCC* III 7
16. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 16-8, 47; *HCC* III 1-2

V. Greek Titles, Group A

17. *Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ.*
Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 87
Asia (Iulia) -- *SNGAul* 3680

18. *Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 92; *KAK* 2848
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 1 (2)
19. *δι κυρ. ήμένιν Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ. Σεβ.*
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 2 (1)

Uranius Antoninus
(summer - winter 253/54)

L(ucius) Jul(ius) Aur(ellus) Sul(picinus) Sev(erus) Uran(ius) Ant(oninus)

I. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *L. Jul. Aur. Sul. Ant.*
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- RIC IV.3 pp. 205-6
2. *L. Jul. Aur. Sul. Uran. Ant.*
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- RIC IV.3 pp. 205-6

II. Greek Titles, Group A

3. Αὐτ. Σουλ. Αντ. Σεβ.
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- BMC Syria p. 241, 24; Hunter III p. 198, 18

III. Greek Titles, Group B

4. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Σουλ. Αντ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- BMC Syria p. 231, 666
Syria (Emesa) -- BMC Syria p. 240, 22-3; SNGCop Syria 313

Valerianus and Family
(mid-September 253 - ca. early September 268)

*C(aius) P(ublius) Lic(inius) Val(erianus)
P(ublius) Lic(inius) Eg(natius) Gall(ienus)
P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Lic(inius) Val(erianus)
P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Lic(inius) Sal(oninus) Val(erianus)*

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 32.1-3 At milites, qui contracti undique apud Raetias ob instans bellum morabantur, Licinio Valeriano imperium deferunt...eius filium Gallienum senatus Caesarem creat...

idem 33.3 His prospere ac supra vota cedentibus more hominum secundis solutior rem Romanam quasi naufragio dedit cum Salonino filio, cui honorem Caesaris contulerat...

idem 33.27 Denique Gallienum subacti a Claudio patres, quod eius arbitrio imperium cepisset, Divum dixerunt.

Epit. de Caes. 32.2-3 Hic filium suum Gallienum Augustum fecit Gallienique filium, Cornelium Valerianum, Caesarem.

idem 33.1 Gallienus quidem in loco Cornelii filii sui Saloninum, alterum filium, subrogavit...

Eutrop. 9.7 Hinc Licinius Valerianus, in Raetia et Norico agens, ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus. Gallienus quoque Romae a senatu Caesar est appellatus.

HA Valer. 5.1 Haec sunt digna cognitu de Valeriano...ut post omnes honores et magistratus insigniter gestos imperator fieret, non, ut solet, tumultuarii populi concursu, non militum strepitu, sed iure meritorum et quasi ex totius orbis una sententia.

idem 8.1 *Valerianus iunior...a patre absente Caesar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Caelstinus dicit, Augustus.*

Otos. hist. adv. pag. 7.22.1 ...duo imperatores ...creati sunt: *Valerianus in Raetia ab exercitu Augustus appellatus, Romae autem in senatu Gallienus Caesar creatus...*

II. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1-5, 12-5, 19-22, 24
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 53-60
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 65

2. *Caes. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- Julian 1916, 288

3. *Imp. Lic. Val.*

Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1483, 7572

4. *Imp. Val. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 8, 11, 25
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 52
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 39-40, 63, 70, 84, 91, 94, 107, 110, 115, 134-5,
 138
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *RIC* V.1 242, 256; *HCC* IV 64
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 283, 289

5. *Imp. Lic. Val. Aug.*

Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7573

6. *Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 23
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 266
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 174

7. *Imp. Val. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118

8. *Imp. Val. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 10, 16, 18
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 51
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 228-30, 232 ff.
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3

9. *Imp. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 122a, 163
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 246, 250, 252, 258, 260-2, 269-70
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 61
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 282, 288, 290; *HCC* IV 69

10. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *ILJug* II 1083

11. *Imp. Caes. n. Lic. Val.*

Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1253/*CIL* VIII 15387

12. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel.*

Coins: Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAul* 5115, 8607¹

13. *Imp. Caes. Val. Aug.*

Coins: Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1343

¹These coins are problematic. For the first, *SNGAul* 5115 gives as the obverse legend, IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F...OS. On the other hand, the same legend is given as follows by H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, Teil II (Tübingen 1979) no. 1518 (= *SNGAul* 5115): IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F AOG. From the published photos, I am unable to discern which reading is correct. The obverse legend of *SNGAul* 8607 is given as, IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F OS. Again, the coin is damaged and difficult to read from the photo. I suspect, however, that the correct reading in both cases might be COS, though this would be an unusual obverse legend.

14. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 6
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 30, 33, 35, 37, 41-2, 51-5, 60, 64; *HCC* IV 4-19,
 35-41, 48-50
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 263
 Bithynia (Apameia-Myrlea) -- *SNGAul* 295
 Syria (Heliopolis) -- *SNGCop Syria* 438
 Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 90-1, 256-63; *HCC* III p. 242,
 36-7
 Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Ace) -- *BMC Phoenicia* p. 137, 47-9²
 Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 286-91, 449-73; *Hunter* III pp.
 271-2, 61-5; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 380-1
 Antioch/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 65-8
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 72

15. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor generis humani*
 Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *RIC* V.1 220

16. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 116, 119

17. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor orientis*
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 286

18. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Aug.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 88, 100

19. *Imp. Caes. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 59

²The obverse legends of all three coins are only partially legible; but by combining the various partial legends, this titulature can be restored to all three.

20. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *LAM* II 121³
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 31 ff.; *HCC* IV 20-34, 42-5, 47
 Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5392
 Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 27-8; *Hunter* III p. 221, 7;
SNGCop Syria 439-40
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 73-4, 76-7

21. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 50, 117, 149, 171; *HCC* IV 23, 46

22. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor orientis*
 Coins: East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 75

23. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9098/XVII 599; *CIL* XIII 12087-8/XVII
 601-2

III. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group B

24. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22239⁴

25. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1251/RJB 2240

³[*Pro Salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ublii) Licinii Vale]riani / [Pii Felicis Aug(usti)*].

⁴The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

26. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- AE (1926) 375

27. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Val. (sic) Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- AE (1889) 23/EE viii 795

IV. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group C

28. *Imp. Val. Aug. Germ. max. tertius*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.1 9

29. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. tertius*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.1 9a

30. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 27, 140
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- RIC V.1 207

31. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- CIL III 13823
Africa -- CIL VIII 22082

32. *Fel. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- AE (1957) 340/NJLM 4

33. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 141; HCC IV 1-3

⁵The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

34. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- AE (1969/70) 4986

35. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. cos. II procos. tr. pot. II p. p.*
restitutor publicae securitatis ac libertatis conservator
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XI 3310/ILS 533

36. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- CIL II 1/ILS 534/IRCP 3

37. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- CIL III 3255 (cf. 10242)/AE (1965) 304/ILJug II 1042

38. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 28

39. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XI 4567/ILS 535

40. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II procos. imp. V p. p. Germ. max. tr. pot.*
III
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XI 2914

41. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- CIL III 2863

42. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 26

43. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 29

⁶*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / P(ublio) Li(c)nio Valeriano / in(victo) Aug(usto) pontific(i) / in(maximo) trib(unicia)*
*p)otest(ate) / II co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae) et / [P(ublio) Licinio Gallieno Aug(usto)]*⁷ -- I
have included this inscription here because it is impossible to restore Gallienus' titulature with any confidence.

44. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142b

45. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. III*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5568a/König 1970, 143/*CIL* XVII 181;⁷ *CIL* XII 5571/König 1970, 146/*CIL* XVII 184

46. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142

47. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2380/König 1981, 1

48. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142a⁸

49. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 189

50. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1124

51. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *AE* (1973) 281⁹

52. *Imp. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 277; *HCC* IV 70-1

⁷Most of the text of this stone must be restored, and that on the basis of the accompanying inscription.

⁸This is the reading reported by Cohen, no. 165.

⁹[I]mp(eratori) Caesar[is] P(ublio) / L(j)icinio Valer[ia]n[u]s pontifici / [m]aximo [...] / [...] trib(unicia) / [pot(estate)... / ...] co(n)s(ul) IIII p(atri) / [p(atriae) / pro]co(n)s(ul)I).

53. *Imp. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 231

54. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142c,¹⁰ 151

55. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 5391

56. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 12294 (=23877)

V. Valerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

57. Η. Αικ. Ουαλ.
Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 153, 176; *Hunter* II p. 154, 23
Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 342, 6929
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 713
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1029-30, 1033-7, 7188

58. Η. Αικ. Ουαλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 714, 7076-7
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 7135-40
Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 7169
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1031-2

59. Γ. Η. Αικ. Ουαλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 715-7, 7070-5, 7078-9; *KBM* 169-203

¹⁰Webb records the reverse legend of this coin as reading, TR P V COS III PP. However, he also provides a plate (pl. I, 3), and there it seems obviously to read, TR P V COS III PP. Hence, I have preferred what I could see in the photograph to what is printed in the catalogue.

60. Οὐαλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Cilicia -- *JRC* 126

61. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 101; *Hunter I* p. 398, 36
Byzantium & Nicaea -- *Hunter I* p. 398, 1-2
Bithynia (Juliopolis) -- *SNGAul* 476
Bithynia (Kretia-Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 529-30
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7065-6, 7068-9; *KBM* 216-24
Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 912-4
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 6191

62. Γ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 718-9, 7067; *KBM* 204-15

63. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος δεοπότης ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reinach 1893, 175 no. 8¹¹

64. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *SEG* 7 (1934) 821

65. Αὐτ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ.
Coins: Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 1657

66. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Οὐαλ.
Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5514-5

67. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Π. Λικ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2763, 17.812

¹¹The emperor's name, but for the two first letters, has been erased. Valerian seems most likely, as Reinach suggests. There seems to be enough space for Εὐσέβης Εύτυχης as well, but in the absence of a photo, I leave the stone as printed by Reinach.

¹²The last two lines read: (ἔτοις) α' Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων / Παιωνίου Λικανίου. Either the scribe forgot to enter Gallienus (which he did in lines 9 and 10 of the papyrus), or he mistakenly gave the plural of Αὐτοκράτωρ and Καισάρ.

68. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Π. Οὐαλ.
Coins: Cilicia (Antioch on the Kragos) -- *SNGAul* 5514-5
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 441-2
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5048

69. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Αικ. Οὐαλ.
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1286, 7386

70. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Π. Αικ. Οὐαλ.
Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 60, 137-8; *SNGCop Macedonia* 121
Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 114-5, 6769-70
Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 7703
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 7387
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1921-7, 7886
Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3668
Asia (Hypaipa) -- *SNGAul* 2973
Asia (Kotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3790-2
Asia (Mytilene) -- *SNGAul* 1759-60
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3054
Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1422, 7518
Asia (Pordosilene) -- *SNGAul* 1767
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2328-9, 8031
Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2233
Asia (Tabai) -- *SNGAul* 2728, 8168
Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4008
Asia (Teos) -- *SNGAul* 2271-2
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3295-7
Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4632
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4717
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5197-5200, 8626
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4835-6
Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5526-9

Cilicia (Iotape) -- *SNGAul* 5583
 Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5597-8
 Cilicia (Korykos) -- *SNGAul* 5686
 Cilicia (Lybre) -- *SNGAul* 8697
 Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5852

71. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ.**
 Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4715¹³
 Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5692¹⁴

72. **Αυτ. Καισ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.**
 Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5511-3
 Cilicia (Hierapolis Kastabala) -- *SNGAul* 8681
 Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 5747

73. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.**
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll.*³ 891
 Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 88
 Asia (Apameia) -- *SNGAul* 3514
 Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 1144
 Lycia (Etenna) -- *SNGAul* 8591
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4716, 8521
 Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5323
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4837-9, 8543-4
 Cilicia (Adana) -- *SNGAul* 5439
 Cilicia (Aegeai) -- *SNGAul* 5460
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5507-10
 Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5538
 Cilicia (Kasai) -- *SNGAul* 5613
 Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5659-61
 Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5693

¹³The obverse legend reads, ΑΥ Η ΠΟΥ ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ Ε.

¹⁴The obverse legend reads, ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΕΥ.

Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5904
 Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 232, 667-8; *SNGCop Syria* 296
 Arabia (Adraa) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 15, 1

74. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Σεβ.**
 Coins: Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 4597-4601¹⁵

75. **ὁ παντὸς ἔθνους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ.**
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1955) 282

76. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.**
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 2849 ff.¹⁶

VL Valerianus, Greek Titles, Group B

77. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ. π. π.**
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6077-8

78. **Αυτ. Καισ. Η. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Σεβ. π. π.**
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6076

¹⁵The obverse legends of these coins read, ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΛΙ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥ ΣΕΒ.

¹⁶These coins actually read, ΕΥΕΥΣ. This was resolved by *Milne* 1933, loc. cit. and *Vogt* 1924, 202 as, ΕΥ(τυχης) Εύσ(εβης). *Giessen, KAK* ad loc., gives the reading here adopted.

VII. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group A

79. *conservator orbis*Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC* V.1 15¹⁷80. *Gall. clementissimus princ.*Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* VI 1106/*ILS* 54881. *d. n. Gall.*Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* VI 3786a (=31379)¹⁸82. *Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* V 7245;¹⁹ *CIL* VI 2809 (=32565)Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) – *HCC* IV p. 36, 1-2Italy (Rome) – *RIC* V.1 191, 2 ff; *HCC* IV 2, 7-87, 95-144; *Gnechi* I p. 6, 5 ff., p. 54, 25-6; III p. 53, 40 ff.Italy (Milan ?) – *RIC* V.1 314 ff., 443 ff.; *HCC* IV pp. 36-7, 3-19, 151-62, 164-72Pannonia Inf. (Sirmium ?) – *HCC* IV 187-8Pannonia Inf. (Siscia ?) – *HCC* IV 182-6Macedonia (Philippi) – *SNGCop Macedonia* 311Syria (Antioch) – *HCC* IV 190-2, 194-7, 199-212Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLI 2951, 11-2²⁰

¹⁷For Gallienus, the *RIC* and *HCC* coins that are underlined are those listed in the sections labeled "Sole Reign" (*RIC* V.1 pp. 130 ff., *HCC* IV pp. 38 ff.) as opposed to the joint reign with Valerian.

¹⁸—*d. n. Gallieni*.—

¹⁹This stone is almost completely destroyed, and this is all that remains of what must have been a longer and more detailed inscription.

²⁰Augustus is restored to this papyrus. See also below 144.

83. *Gall. Aug. n.*Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 171Alpes -- *CIL* V 7879/*ILS* 551Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5335Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1965) 9Dacia -- *CIL* III 1550/*IDR* III 13284. *sanctissimus Gall. Aug. n.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3329/*ILS* 54485. *victoriosissimus Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *Manzella* 1981, 135 no. 12²¹86. *d. n. Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4557; *Alföldy* 1984b, no. 149Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3228/*ILS* 546Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 302287. *Gall. Aug. Germ.*Coins: *Lugdunensis* (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 5288. *Gall. Aug. Germ. restitutor Galliarum*Coins: *Lugdunensis* (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 3489. *P. Lic. Gall. nob. Caes. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10132; *AE* (1967) 58490. *d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31378a/*ILS* 549; *CIL* X 5828, XI 309291. *Inv. Gall. exsuperantissimus Aug. protector imperii Romani omniumque salutis auctor*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5334

²¹The stone is badly damaged, and the reading highly conjectural.

92. *d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug. ac super omnes retro principes fortissimus*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3091

93. *Gall. Pl. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 446, 490, 496, 498, 508b, 536
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 106, 14, 35; *Gnechii* I p. 7, 10, p. 52, 1

94. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 45-8, 52, 54-8
Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 430, 547, 445, 488, 530a, 533; *HCC* IV 163
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 22 ff., 142, 419; *HCC* IV 5; *Gnechii* II p. 107, 8;
III p. 53, 41
Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 189

95. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. Germ.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 105, 136a, 187, 285, 149

96. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. optimus princ.*
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 659

97. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 29, 33, 35
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 53

98. *d. n. Gall. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *AE* (1936) 53/*CIMRM* 1585/*AIJug* 313

99. *Imp. Gall.*
Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 193, 13-6; *Hunter* I p. 386, 2-3;
SNGCop Thrace 884-5

100. *Imp. Lic. Gall.*
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1485-6, 7575-7
Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1345, 7449

101. *Imp. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1945) 57
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 9 ff.
Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 304, 373 ff., 449 ff.; *HCC* IV 173-4
Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 108, 267, 8 ff.; *HCC* IV 4, 40-1, 4, 88-94, 149-
50; *Gnechii* I p. 6, 3 ff., I p. 52, 3-4; II p. 107, 9
Macedonia (Dium) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 160
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1487
Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1346
Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 66

102. *Imp. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 438

103. *Imp. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 439

104. *d. n. Imp. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 3836

105. *Imp. Gall. Aug. Germ.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 496a, 535
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 103, 196, 269

106. *Imp. Gall. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 28, 31

107. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Gall. Germ. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 856/*ILS* 547/Alföldy 1984b, no. 74

108. *Imp. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3424/*ILS* 545

109. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 12, 21, 24, 40, 47
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 42-3
 Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 302, 305, 375 ff., 482, 497, 509, 511a, 512, 544,
 546
 Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechhi* III p. 54, 54
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 60-1
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4984-5²²

110. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. princ. inv.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 26

111. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 27, 30
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 44

112. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 303, 374 ff., 505, 511, 521; *HCC* IV 179-81
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 59
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 110-1, 139, 156, 227, 17, 45, 136, 139-41, 147,
 190, 218, 382, 384-5, 390, 392 ff.; *HCC* IV 3; *Gnechhi* I p. 6, 2, p. 8
 19, p. 52, 2, 5 ff.; II p. 106, 2 ff.; III p. 52, 37 ff.
 Syria (Antioch) -- *HCC* IV 65
 East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 441, 443, 451

113. *Imp. d. n. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1914) 182/*ILAT* 566

²²These coins display an odd mixture of Greek and Latin, with the obverse legends, IMP GALIHNVS PIVS AYT.

114. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 81 ff., 318, 389, 433;²³ *HCC* IV 20-2; *Gnechhi* I
 p. 52, 8, p. 53, 15; II p. 106, 1 ff.; III p. 53, 45 ff.

115. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max.*

Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 382

116. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. optimus princ.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 393; *Gnechhi* III p. 54, 53

117. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 165, 236; *HCC* IV 39

118. *Inv. Imp. Pi. Fel. Gall. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *EE* ii 1057/*CIL* III 8193/*ILS* 550/*IMS* VI 23

119. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 4058/*ILS* 6224

120. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall.*

Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1484, 7574

121. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall.*

Coins: Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5393-4

122. *Imp. Caes. P. M. (sic) Lic. Ait. (sic) Gall.*

Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 8586

123. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. (sic) Gall.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* ■ 3831/*ELST* 18²⁴

²³Webb (*RIC* V.1 p. 66) indicates that some of these coins read G M rather than GERM. However, he does not always make clear in the catalogue which are which. Hence, I have listed only those that clearly have GERM MAX under that rubric.

²⁴The stone is now lost, and the provenance unknown. Three other inscriptions call Gallienus P. Licinius Valerianus Gallicanus (nos. 160, 350, 377). I suspect that this stone comes from the same area.

124. *magistrus et Inv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 5030/Alfoldy 1984b, 256²⁵125. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1111/König 1981, 8Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 209, 215, 217, 234, 239, 250, 254, 264, 268, 320, 330; *Gnech* I p. 8, 17Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 175Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 240-1126. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 4961Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 288-93, 295, 297-301Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 69-72, 74 ff.; *HCC* IV 2-12, 23-35; *Gnech* I p.

53, 16; III p. 53, 39 ff.

Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 29; *Hunter* III p. 221, 8; *SNGCop Syria* 442-4Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 91-2, 264-72; *Hunter* III p. 242, 38; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 128-9Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Acre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* p. 138, 50²⁶Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 291-5, 474-93; *Hunter* III p. 272, 66East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 67127. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1934) 193128. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Aug. conservator pietatis*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 171129. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 230²⁵Magno et / Invicto / [Im]p(eratori) Caes(ar) / [P]ublio Licinio / Gallieno (?) / —.²⁶Though the obverse legend of the coin is damaged, this seems the correct reading.130. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ. max.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142131. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pacator orbis*Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 294
Viminacium/Antioch (?) -- *HCC* IV 64132. *Inv. d. n. Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Aug.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1901) 108/ *CIL* VIII 24077133. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1920) 108134. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor generis humani*Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 296135. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor orbis*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 91, 234136. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor orientis*Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 448137. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Pi. Aug.*Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4986138. *Imp. Caes. P. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 138139. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3576, 1177b;²⁷ Colini 1939, 137 nos. 12-3²⁷Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) P(ublio) [Lic(inio)] / Gallieno Pio Felicis Augusto

Coin: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1.1
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1.73, 80 ff., 148; *HCC* IV 14-9, 36-8; *Gnechi* I p. 53, 21; II p. 106, 3 ff.; III p. 52, 38
 Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 295, 30-1; *SNGCop Syria* 441
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 68-73

140. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1971) 508

141. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 1644/König 1981, 2428

142. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1.164

143. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. max. Pers. max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLI 2951, 16-729

144. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1352/König 1981, 15
 Italy -- *CIL* V 7246
 Africa -- *IRT* 458

145. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5933/IBR 202/RIBW 30/König 1981, 25³⁰

²⁸The inscription breaks after, *principi lu[ventutis]* --.

²⁹See above 82.

³⁰[Im]p(erator) Caes(ar) Galli[enus] / Germanicu[s] P(ius) F(elix) / Invictus Au[g(ustus)] --.

146. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Inscriptions: Alpes -- *AE* (1977) 52731

VIII. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group B

147. *Gall. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1.200

148. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1.67

149. *victoriosissimus Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. p. p. procos...d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug. ac redintegrator coloniae Faliscorum*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1108/*CIL* XI 3090a/Manzella 1981, 134 no. 11³¹

150. *rector orbis et d. terrarum ac redintegrator coloniae Faliscorum Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. p. p. procos...d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3089

151. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22275

³¹[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) P(ublius) Lic]iniu[s] Gallie]nus / [Pius Feliz Invic]enus [Augustus] / [restituto]r orbis.

³²Lines 2 ff. of this stone read, [...victoriosissimo / [Imp(eratori) Gallieno Pio Felici Invicto Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) G(erm(anico) max(im)o) Parth(ico) max(im)o) p(atri) p(atrie) proco(n)s(ul) et Corneliae] Saloni/[nae Augustae co(niugi) d(omini) n(ostr)i Gallieni Invicti Aug(usti) / [ac redintegratoris coloniae Falisco]rum.

152. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. fortissimus princ. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) imp. (?) cos. (?) p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1971) 509³³

153. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *EE* viii 239³⁴

154. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9091/*RGAI* 282/König 1981, 28/*CIL* XVII 616³⁵

155. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 1705

156. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Inv. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 939a³⁶

157. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2246³⁷

158. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9086/*RGAI* 281/König 1981, 29/*CIL* XVII 621

³³ [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licin(i) Gallieni Aug(usti) / forfissimi principiis Germanici p(ontifici) m(aximi) triibunicia] p(otestate) ... imp...cos..p.p. procos].

³⁴ The stone breaks after *pontifex maximus*.

³⁵ [Imp(eratoris) Cjae(s(aris) P(ublio) L(j)sc(inio) / Gall< i>eno P(i)o) F(elici) / [A]ug(usto) pon/it(i)fici) / m(aximo) triibunicia] p(otestate) --. Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores also *Inv(icto)* to the end of line 2.

³⁶ [Imp(eratori) Caes(aris) / P(ublio) Licinio GENA (sic) / Gallenio (sic) / Pio Invict(o) / PIP (sic) Aug(usto) Pio / ANMOX (sic) Par(thico) / [maximo] --.

³⁷ The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

159. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. (sic) Gall. Germ. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *ILER* 1189/*HAEpig* 1-3 (1950-52) 468³⁸

160. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. (?) procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1430³⁹

IX. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group C

161. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 141⁴⁰

162. *Gall. Aug. Germ. V*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 16, 43

163. *Gall. Aug. Germ. V Germ. max. V*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RICV*.1 19

164. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 18, 60
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 49-51
Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* III p. 56, 84

³⁸ *Imperator* is restored here. This stone very likely had Valerian also originally. Three other stones also call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus (123, 350, 377). The nomenclature is not correct.

³⁹ [Imp(eratori) Caes(aris) P(ublio) Licinio Gallieno Pio Felici Invicto Augusto / Germanica maxima] Dacico m(aximo) p(ontifici) m(aximo) triibunicia] p(otestate) ? co(n)s(ul) ? proco(n)s(ul) p(atri) p(atiae)).

⁴⁰ I have included the several examples with *Germanicus maximus* and an iteration number here, rather than with Group B above, even though they will not be very helpful in determining chronology. They are all listed together at the start of this group (nos. 161-5).

165. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 17

166. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 548

167. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 200

168. *Imp. Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* I p. 7, 15

169. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 68

170. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 115
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *RIC* V.1 287

171. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- Sigismundi 1952, 119

172. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 1762/Alfoldy 1984b, 111

173. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) p. p. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8009

174. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 116

175. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 65⁴¹

176. *Imp. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 66

177. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4568/ILS 536

178. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 766 (= 12229)⁴²

179. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 5176

180. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILM* 76/ILAM II 406

181. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2381/König 1981, 2⁴³

182. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118⁴⁴

⁴¹As regards the dating formula on this coin, Webb ad loc. notes, "The dating of this coin is blundered, but COS III is clear." Still, his only authority for the coin is Cohen, hence there may be an error in the original reading of the legend.

⁴²Another inscription from Mauretania Caesarensis (*CIL* VIII 9040) was originally attributed to Aurelian, but seems rather to attest Gallienus (Deininger 1970, 121-4) as *tr. pot. III cos.*

⁴³The consular iteration is here restored.

⁴⁴The die-cutters have here made a mistake. The coin should read COS III. Cf. Webb, *RIC* ad loc. and Cohen no. 803.

183. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 959 (=12441)

184. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. F. (?) cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 5804

185. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1577 (=8010)/*IDR* III 77

186. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1018⁴⁵

187. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. imp. VIII cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ADIE* 12

188. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. III*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2589

189. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 117

190. *Imp. Gall. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 120

191. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 119a

192. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 119; *HCC* IV 13

⁴⁵*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Licinio Gallieno / Pio Felici [Aug(usto) G]e[rm]anico max(imo) p[ro]font(is)ci!*
max(imo) / triib(unicia) p[ro]testate co(n)s(ul)i III [patri patriae proco(n)s(ul)i].

193. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. et Inv. Aug. Dac. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2200/*ILS* 552⁴⁶

194. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 5

195. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* IV 1; *Gnechi* I p. 7, 12; III p. 55, 66⁴⁷

196. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 121, 201, 259

197. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 309

198. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 18
Pannonia Sup (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 549

199. *Imp. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *HCC* IV 176

200. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 307, 311, 313, 454, 456, 459

⁴⁶The dating of this stone, as it stands, is impossible. Christol 1975, B17 has suggested the emendation *tr. pot. VII*, which would be compatible with *cos. III*.

⁴⁷Here, obviously, the consular iterations on the obverses of these coins are not in accord with those on the reverses. This poses, however, no problem for chronology. See also below 213.

201. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 124

202. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 306, 310, 455, 458

203. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 461

204. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 151

205. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. VIII cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 345

206. *Gall. Aug. cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 150; *HCC* IV 6

207. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 904⁴⁸

208. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 6⁴⁹
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 122

⁴⁸Webb, ad loc. notes that the *CIIM*, which appears on the obverse according to Cohen (no. 884), is possibly to be read as *GM*, i.e. *Germanicus maximus*. See the note to the same effect in Cohen.

⁴⁹For this reverse legend, see also *RIC* V.1 p. 118, 22. Webb realizes that the tribunician and consular iterations are inconsistent. It should be noted, however, that the reading of this coin goes back to Banduri, hence is not altogether reliable.

209. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. IV p. p.*⁵⁰
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum ?) -- *RIC* V.1 7-8
Italy (Rome ?) -- *RIC* V.1 152

210. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. VIII cos. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1930) 42/*ILT* 652

211. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 153
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 462

212. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 19

213. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. V pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 4;⁵¹ *Gnechi* I p. 7, 13

214. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 20, 154

215. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26558 (cf. 1505 & 15510)/*ILAT* 530

216. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. X imp. X cos. IV des. V procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1487/*ILS* 541

⁵⁰For both nos. 7 and 152, Webb cites Cohen nos. 831 and 832. The authority of no. 8 is the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁵¹Webb, ad loc. notes that the obverse and reverse consular iterations of this coin are inconsistent, but offers no solution. We are dealing, presumably, with a die-cutter's error. Or it may be that an earlier obverse type was used with a later reverse type. I might add that Webb's authority for this coin (Cohen no. 834) reports the obverse as reading *COS II*. See also above n.

217. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. V*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5357

Cappadocia -- Mitford 1974, 169 no. 5

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 114a,⁵² 1-2, 5, 135, 381; *HCC* IV 1; *Gnechi* I p. 6, 1 ff., p. 54, 28; II p. 108, 25; III p. 53, 42218. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. V*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 6⁵³219. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. VI cos. V p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 3; *Gnechi* I p. 7, 11219a. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X p. p. cos. V*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 109, 31220. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. Germ. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 956221. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. V p. p.*Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 600222. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. V p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1895) 17/*AE* (1902) 46/*CIL* VIII 22765/*ILS* 8923223. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XII imp. cos. V p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 927⁵²This coin is listed in *RIC* as reading COS II. For the corrected reading see, A. Alföldi, *ZfN* 38 (1928) 201.⁵³Cohen (no. 1200) reports this coin as reading COS II. Webb, *ad loc.* claims that this is an error, and corrects to COS V.224. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. VI p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* IV 145; *Gnechi* III p. 55, 57, 72
East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 601225. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. X cos. VI p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26559/*ILS* 1416⁵⁴226. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII cos. VI p. p.*Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 193
East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 602227. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. XII cos. VI p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 208/*IRT* 456228. *magnus et Inv. Gall. Aug. cos. VI des. VII*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 1559/*ILS* 542229. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Germ. max. pont. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4784/*ILS* 543230. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XIV (?) cos. VI des. VII p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1909) 68/*EE* ix 5825⁵⁵231. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. pont. max. tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII p. p. procos.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 50⁵⁴*CIL* prints *tr. pot. XII*, whereas Merlin revises to *tr. pot. XIII*. Manni 1947, 129 prefers the original reading in *CIL*.⁵⁵[I]mp(erator) Ca[es]ar P(ublius) Licinius Gallie[nus] Pius F(elix) Invictus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) / max(imus) Pers(icus) [max(imus) pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XIII] / co(n)s(ul) VI des ignatus VII...J / p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul). It is likely that *tr. pot. XIV* should here be restored.

232. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 155

233. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII p. p.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 198
East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 603⁵⁶

234. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 207/IRT 457

235. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI*
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 604

236. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI cos. VII*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 156
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 550

237. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI cos. VII p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2571 (=18057) / *AE* (1974) 723⁵⁷

238. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. XVI imp. XV cos. VII p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1959) 271⁵⁸

239. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVII*
Coins: Asia (?) -- *RIC* V.1 605

⁵⁶The reverse legend of this coin actually reads, P M TR P XV P P VII C.

⁵⁷[im]p[erator] [C]aesar P[ublius] Licinius Egnatius Gallienus [Pius Fel[icitas] Invictus Aug[ustus] pontifex] max[imus] trib[unus] po[lit]estate) XVI co(n)sul VII / [pater pa]triae proco(n)sul. This is the text as restored by H.G. Kolbe, *Röm. Mitt.* 81 (1974) 281-300.

⁵⁸I have restored, *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*

240. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVIII*
Coins: Asia (?) -- Alföldi 1967, 174 no. 2

X. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group A

241. Γαλλ.
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *CIG* 4839/*OGIS* 717/*IGRR* I 1274/PD 69
Coins: Achaea (Laconia) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 131, 87
Papyri: Bureth p. 120, no. 1 (11); *P. Oxy.* XL 2903, 7

242. Λικ. Γαλλ.
Coins: Asia (Mostene) -- *SNGAul* 3030

243. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.
Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *SNGCop Argolis* 107-8
Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 108, 44-5
Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 233, 3a
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1043
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3300
Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5599-5600

244. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ.
Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 109, 4
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 724-5; *KBM* 236
Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 916

245. ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ἀρχητῆρος Γαλλ.
Papyri: Bureth p. 121, no. 7 (1)

246. Θεός Γαλλ.
Papyri: Bureth p. 121, no. 11 (1); *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2711, 8

247. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 1 (1)

248. Γαλλ. Κατο.
Papyri: *O. Ont. Mus.* II 222, 2

249. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Κατο.
Coins: Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3055-6
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3298-9, 8289

250. Γαλλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Achaea (Lacedaemon) -- *SNGCop Phliasia* 618-9

251. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1044

252. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomeida) -- *SNGAul* 7142-9

253. Γ. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Cios) -- *SNGAul* 7008
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 726-30, 7089-91; *KBM* 225-35, 237

254. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 187; *IGRR* III 237/König 1981, 10/*RECAM* II 403
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 2 (7)

255. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 103
Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 343
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 449, 451-2, 455-8
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1038-42, 1045, 7189

256. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 102; *SNGCop Thrace* 528-9
Byzantium & Nicaea -- *Hunter I* p. 399, 3-5
Bithynia (Cios-Prusias ad Mare) -- *SNGAul* 516-7
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 722-3, 729, 7086-8
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 6192-7

257. Γ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7084; *KBM* 239-45

258. Γ. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7085; *KBM* 246-55

259. ὁ Ανικ. δεσπότης ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1965) 114/*AE* (1975) 770c

260. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Syria -- *AE* (1915) 104
Arabia -- *SGLI* 636; *IGRR* III 1288/*SEG* 16 (1959) 809

261. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 777/Robinson 1927, 31-2 no. 3
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 4 (1)

262. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ. Κατο.
Coins: Asia (Apollonia ad Rhindacum) -- *SNGAul* 1066

263. ὁ κυρ. Γαλλ. Κατο. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 3 (1)

264. Αυτ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 81
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 7888

265. Αυτ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.

Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 88
Bithynia (Nicacea) -- *SNGAul* 7092

266. Αυτ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.

Coins: Thrace (Perinthos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 160, 75
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 6198

267. Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.

Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 453, 6967
Cilicia (Adana) -- *SNGAul* 8660
Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5539

268. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1897) 129/*IGRR* III 1286/*OGIS* 615; *AE* (1900)
160/*IGRR* III 1287/*OGIS* 614; *SEG* 16 (1959) 810

269. ὁ μεγαλοδύρωτος κυρ. ἡμῶν ἀρχητητος Γαλλ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 8 (2)

270. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. ὁ ἀρχοντος τῆς οἰκουμένης

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 759/*SEG* 15 (1958) 459/*IGBulg* 1567

271. Αυτ. Καισ. Γαλλ.

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 805
Bithynia (Sebastopolis-Herakleopolis) -- *SNGAul* 136

272. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Γαλλ.

Coins: Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2430-1, 8059
Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2469, 2471
Asia (Apollonia Salbake) -- *SNGAul* 2494
Asia (Kotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3793, 3795, 8403

273. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.

Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR* III 355
Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 86; *SNGCop Thessaly* 355
Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 6751
Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 116-8
Bithynia (Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis) -- *SNGAul* 134-5, 137, 6778
Asia (Aizanis) -- *SNGAul* 3361
Asia (Akmonia) -- *SNGAul* 3382-4, 8315
Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2468, 2470, 8067
Asia (Attuda) -- *SNGAul* 2507
Asia (Bageis) -- *SNGAul* 2918
Asia (Bargassa) -- *SNGAul* 2512-3
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1287, 7388
Asia (Daldis) -- *SNGAul* 2938
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1928-32, 7887, 7889-90
Asia (Eumeneia) -- *SNGAul* 3598
Asia (Hierapolis & Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 3669
Asia (Kotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3794
Asia (Kadoi) -- *SNGAul* 3694-5
Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 2073
Asia (Miletus) -- *SNGAul* 2113
Asia (Pergamum & Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1425-6
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2330-3, 8032
Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2234-8, 8011-2
Asia (Tabai) -- *SNGAul* 2729-32, 8169
Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4009, 8454
Asia (Teos) -- *SNGAul* 2273
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 8290
Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3326-8
Asia/Galatia (Apollonia-Mordiaion) -- *SNGAul* 4999-5000
Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 8505
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4736-7
Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5237
Cilicia (Korykos) -- *SNGAul* 5688
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5853-4

274. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ.
Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 60, 140; *SNGCop Macedonia* 122
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 141; *SNGCop Macedonia* 443-4
Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 87
Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3998
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4847

275. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γερ. (sic) Γαλλ.
Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *SNGCop Thessaly* 356⁵⁹

276. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ.
Coins: Lycia (Pednelissos) -- *SNGAul* 5141

277. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Εγο. Ευτ. μεγ.
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *IGRR* III 123

278. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 448, 454, 459-60, 6966
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2332
Asia (Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 8262

279. Αυτ. Καισ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5516
Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 8705

280. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *SEG* 27 (1977) 925
Coins: Bithynia (Amasris) -- *SNGAul* 178
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 450
Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3994-7

⁵⁹This is the obverse legend as given by the editors of *SNGCop*. From the photo, however, the readable part of the legend seems to be, Π ΑΙΚ Γ ΓΑΛΛΗΝ. Probably intended was, Π ΑΙΚ ΕΓ ΓΑΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 4602-4
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5049
Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4645-7, 8512
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4718-33
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4840-6, 8549, 8545
Lycia (Silyon) -- *SNGAul* 4888-9
Cilicia (Aigai) -- *SNGAul* 5461
Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5694
Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5905
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2904-54

281. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4848-51, 8546-8

282. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 54

283. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1915) 51/Rosenberg 1920, 319-21
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4734-5
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5050

284. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll.3* 892
Papyri: *Bureih* p. 120, no. 4 (2)

285. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 2880⁶⁰

286. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Αικ. Γαλλ. Ευτ Ευσ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 883

⁶⁰The coins have ΕΥΕΥΣ, interpreted as Εύ(τυχης) Εύσ(εβής) by Milne (ad loc.) and Vogt 1924, 202. The resolution here is that suggested by Geissen, *KAK* (ad loc.).

287. Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 5 (19);⁶¹ *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2568, 24-8; 2569, 32-5; 2586, 52-5; XLII 3054, 1-2; XLVI 3293, 23-6; *P. Köln* I 52, 42-5, 88-90; 53, 22;⁶² *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, 14, 15 & 48

288. Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 6 (35); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3114, 22-7; *P. Coll. Youtie* 68, 36-8

289. Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 6 (1)

290. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, 39-40

XI. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group B

291. Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ. π. π.
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6079-80

⁶¹*Bureth* p. 120, no. 3 records *P. Lond.* 1275 as containing the formula given under 280 above. The papyrus has been re-examined by Sijpesteijn 1982, 108-9, who has shown that it belongs here.

⁶²The titulature here is mostly restored, and as the editors note, might originally have been shorter.

XII. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group C

292. Αυτ. Καισ. ΙΙ. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ ιδ' υπ. τὸ ζ' ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ζ' π. π.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *SEG* 26 (1976/77) 12963

XII. Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

292a. *Val. Caes.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne?) -- *HCC* IV 8-10
Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1-4, 6⁶⁴
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 17

293. *Cor. Val. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 16

294. *Cor. Lic. Val. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 15

295. *P. Lic. Val. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 13, 19; *HCC* IV 1-3

⁶³[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Π]ιούπ[λιος Λικίνιος Γαλλιηνός Εύσεβης Εύτυχης Σεβαστὸς ὀρχιερεὺς] / μέγιστ[ος Π]ερμανεύ[ος μ]έγιστος δημαρχοῦς ἐκεουσίας τὸ ιδ' οὔποτ[ος τὸ ζ' ἀποδεδειγμένος] / τὸ ζ' πατήρ πατρίδος].

⁶⁴The reverse of this coin, with the legend *RESTITV GALLIAR*, belongs to Gallienus.

296. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6326/*IP* 37
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 21⁶⁵
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 48, 53-4; *HCC* IV 11-2

297. *divus Val. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5682
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV p. 337
 Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 7-10
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 24, 27-8, 31, 35, 41-3; *HCC* IV p. 32, 1-6;
Gnechii II p. 111, 1; III p. 61, 7

298. *Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 5

299. *P. Lic. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 39

300. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 45, 50-1

301. *Val. nob. Caes.*

Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 46-7, 52
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 13

302. *Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 26

303. *P. Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 335/*Inscript. Ital.* III, 1 131

⁶⁵The obverse legend reads, C P L VALERIANVS CAES.

304. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4558, XI 3578, XIV 4401
 Africa -- *AE* (1931) 1/*IRT* 460
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 12, 14, 18, 20, 22,⁶⁶ 25, 33, 36; *HCC* IV 4-5, 7;
Gnechii I p. 56, 1

305. *d. n. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5739/*RIS* 371

306. *Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 44, 49
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 14-6

307. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 11, 23, 29-30, 34, 37-8, 40; *HCC* IV 6

308. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2382/König 1981, 3; *CIL* VIII 2383/König 1981, 4

309. *Imp. P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4646/Weber 1968-71, 131-2 no. 9

310. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4647/Weber 1968-71, 132-3 no. 10; *CIL* III 4652/*LS* 555/Weber 1968-71, 140-1 no. 19

XIV. Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

311. ΤΙ. ΚΟΡ. ΟΥΩΔ.

Coins: Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4010

⁶⁶The reverse of this coin belongs to Gallicanus, and has tribunician and consular iterations.

312. Π. Αικ. Κορ. Ουαλ.

Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- SNGAul 4751-2

313. δικυρ. ἡμᾶν Ουαλ. νέος Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Lycia -- IGRR III 481/ILS 8870

314. Π. Αικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Ευτ. (?) Σεβ.

Coins: Lycia (Attaleia) -- SNGAul 4633-4⁶⁷

315. Καισ. Π. Κορ. Ουαλ.

Coins: Asia (Bageis) -- SNGAul 8220

316. Π. Αικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Καισ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- SNGAul 7097
Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- SNGAul 884, 7157
Lycia (Magydos) -- SNGAul 8513

317. Π. Αικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. δι επιφ. Καισ.

Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- IGRR III 122

318. δι θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Π. Κορ. Ουαλ. νέος

Inscriptions: Thrace -- SEG 19 (1963) 452/AE (1966) 378/SEG 24 (1969) 647

319. Π. Αικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Καισ. Σεβ.

Coins: Lycia (Aspendus) -- SNGAul 4607-10, 8507
Lycia (Magydos) -- SNGAul 4648
Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- SNGAul 5663-5
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 93; KAK 2991-3000

320. Αικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Arabia -- AE (1931) 80

321. Αυτ. Καισ. Κορ. Ουαλ. επιφ. Καισ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Lycia -- IGRR III 572/TAM II 734

XV. Salonianus, Latin Titles, Group A

322. *Sal. Val. Caes.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.1 2, 4, 6, 8-9, 13, 15
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- HCC IV 8
Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 16; Gnechi I p. 8, 1323. *P. Cor. Sal. Val. Caes.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.1 7
Syria (Antioch) -- RIC V.1 35; HCC IV 11324. *Sal. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*Coins: Milan/Viminacium ? -- HCC IV 9-10
Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.1 3, 5, 10-2
Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 20, 30-1325. *Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- Gnechi III p. 61, 10
Syria (Antioch) -- RIC V.1 36-7
East (uncertain) -- HCC IV 12-3326. *Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL X 4575
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 17, 21-6, 29; Gnechi I p. 56, 1-2; II p. 111, 2327. *P. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL IX 3151

328. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL IX 5683/ILS 558

⁶⁷These coins actually read, ΕΥ ΣΕ.

329. *P. Lic. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2952330. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1934) 161/*AE* (1971) 23/*König* 1981, 11331. *d. n. P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 57/*König* 1981, 17332. *Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 19, 27-8, 32-4; *HCC* IV 1-7; *Gnechi* II p. 111, 3; III p. 61, 5 ff.333. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3093Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 18334. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Caes. Aug.*Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 751⁶⁸335. *Imp. Sal. Val. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1, 14

XVI. Salonus, Greek Titles, Group A

336. *Σαλ. Ουαλ.*Coins: Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1046, 1048-9337. *Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ.*Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 463-4
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1047338. *Π. Λικ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.*Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4753-7339. *Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ. Σεβ.*Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 3001-10340. *Αυτ. Καισ. Σαλ. Ουαλ.*Coins: Asia (Temenothyra) -- *SNGAul* 4011

XVII. Valerianus and Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group A

341. *Val. Gall.*Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 826⁶⁹342. *Augg. Val. Gall.*Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1936) 86/*RIB* 2042343. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg.*Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4762
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2482/*ILS* 531; *CIL* VIII 4219/*ILS* 6849344. *dd. nn. Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Caes. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22517345. *Impp. dd. nn. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Invv. Pil. Felt. Augg.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1954) 130⁶⁸...]*P(ublio) L(icinio) / Cornelio Saloni[no...]/ Caes(ari) Augustus (sic).*⁶⁹This inscription reads, *C(olonia) C(laudia) A(r)A(grippinensis) Valeriana Galliena.*

346. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Val. Aug. et Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 246/*RRM* 139a

347. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10126

348. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10141 (= 22215)

349. *Imp. Caess. Val. et Gall. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8911a/*AE* (1929) 57/*AE* (1948) 204/*ILTG* 467/König 1981, 21/*CIL* XVII 355; *CIL* XIII 8912/*AE* (1929) 58/*AE* (1948) 205/*ILTG* 468/König 1981, 22/*CIL* XVII 357

350. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Val. (sic) Aug.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8890/König 1981, 23/*CIL* XVII 307⁷⁰

351. *Imp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. et Lic. Gall. Inv. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcellat-Jaubert 1980, 183 no. 39

352. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *RRM* I 35b, 44a

353. *Imp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Pii. Fel. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9103/*ILS* 532/*RGAI* 275/König 1981, 27/*CIL* XVII 635

354. *Imp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9111/*RGAI* 276/*RSO* 220/König 1981, 26/*CIL* XVII 643

XVIII. Valerianus and Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group B

355. *dd. nn. Val. Aug. et Gall. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2135

356. *Imp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 14333.8

357. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et Imp. Caes. Lic. P. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 29/*EE* viii 774

358. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4653/*Weber* 1968-71, 139-40 no. 18

359. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 14333.9

360. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1632⁷¹

361. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *ILSard* 389/*Sotgiu* 1988, A389

⁷⁰Three other stones call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus -- nos. 123, 160 and 377.

⁷¹*[d(ominio) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / P(ublio) Licinio Gallieno Pio / Felici Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) / pot(estate) [co(n)s(ul) p(ari) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli)] / filio domini nostri / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ubli) Licini Vale/tiani Pii Felicis Aug(usti).*

362. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- Boninu & Stylov 1982, 33-7 no. 2/AE (1984) 445/Sotgiu 1988, B178

363. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8033

364. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1125/*CIL* VIII 22226

365. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10122⁷²

366. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10300

367. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. fil.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2199/König 1981, 13

368. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *CIL* III 8268/*IMS* IV 123

⁷²The inscription breaks after (line 5), *fel Imp(eratori) Caesari P(ublio) Licini*[...], but might be restored similarly to *CIL* VIII 10300 (366).

369. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERZ* 42/*IRMN* 10/Otal & Pros 1982, 192-3 no. 1473

XIX. Valerianus & Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group C

370. *Imp. Val. Aug. II et Gall. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III³ p. 2004/*CIL* XVI 155/*Pais* 957/*ILS* 2010⁷⁴

371. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. II et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 6094 (= 14202)/*IK* 17,1 3162⁷⁵

372. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 44007

373. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. pater d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 579/*CIL* VIII 22051⁷⁷

⁷³I have adopted the reading of this stone given in *IRMN*.

⁷⁴See also 374 and 375 below.

⁷⁵See also below 394.

⁷⁶*[Imp(eratori) Caesari] P(ublio) Licinio V(ale)riano P(lio) F(elici) [Aug(usto) / pontif(ici) max(imo) tribun(icia) potest(ate) co(n)s(ulli) II p(atri) p(atiae) / et Imp(eratori) Caesari P(ublio) Licinio Egnatii] Gallifeno / P(lio) F(elici) Aug(usto) pontif(ici) Max(imo) tribun(icia) potest(ate) co(n)s(ulli)...*

⁷⁷The stone breaks after, *Galieni Pi. Fel(icis) /*—.

374. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III³ p. 2004/*CIL* XVI 155/*Pais* 957/*ILS* 2010 (*intus*)⁷⁸

375. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III³ p. 2004/*CIL* XVI 155/*Pais* 957/*ILS* 2010 (*extrinsecus*)⁷⁹

376. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22580

377. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos. Inv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. p. p. Val. (sic) Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1982) 576/*ENAR* 135/*IRPL* 325⁸⁰

378. *Impp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1899) 6

379. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. verus Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. (?) p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4691/König 1981, 14⁸¹

⁷⁸See also 370 and 375. The interior of this diploma is illegible after, ...*Imp(erator) Caes(er) P(ublius) Licinius*... I have restored the rest based on the titulature of Valerian that is legible and on the *extrinsecus* of the diploma.

⁷⁹See 370 and 374 above.

⁸⁰Diego Santos (*IRPL* ad loc.) assumes that *cos II <II>* is the proper reading for Valerian's consulates, and thus dates the stone to A.D. 255. Three other inscriptions call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus -- nos. 123, 160, 350.

⁸¹The inscription breaks after, *Gallienus verus (sic) Plus*. I have restored the rest.

380. *Val. III et Gall. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6780/*RGAI* 2128/König 1981, 30⁸²

381. *Impp. Lic. Val. Aug. IV Lic. Gall. Aug. III cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 1681/*ILS* 7219

382. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. IV procos. pater d. n. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 20155

XX. Valerianus and Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group A

383. Πούβλιοι
Papyri: Bureth p. 118, no. 1 (1)⁸³

384. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Καισα. οι κυρρ.
Papyri: P. Oxy. XLIII 3109, 25

385. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AEGI* 9289, 9358
Papyri: Bureth p. 117, no. 2 (1); P. Oxy. XLII 3035, 6

386. Γαλλ. Οὐαλ. Π. Λικ. Σεββ.
Coins: Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul* 4902

⁸²{--*Valefriano III et Gallieno II / cos.*},

⁸³Bureth assigned this document to Valerian, Gallienus and Valerian II. Since it dates to year three, however, only Valerian and Gallienus are in question. See *Rta* 1984a, 1130.

387. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 1 (13); *P. Lond.* III 1284a⁸⁴

388. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 2 (1)

389. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Καισ. Σεββ. Ευσ. Ευττ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2763, 8-10

390. Αυττ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Σεββ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7080-2; *KBM* 260-1
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 858

391. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIG* 3206/*IGRR* IV 1419

392. Αυττ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Αυττ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 28 (1978) 592

393. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.

Coins: Asia (Temenothyrai & Sebaste) -- *SNGAul* 4012

394. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 6094 (= 14202)/*IK*, 17, 1 3162⁸⁵

395. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3611, 1-4⁸⁴*Bureth* p. 117, no. 1 listed *P. Lond.* 1284a with the formula, Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Γαλλερινός. Sijpesteijn 1982, 108 shows that the document has this formula instead.⁸⁵See also above 371.

396. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 3 (9); *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2714, 22-5; Sijpesteijn 1985, 73 no. 1

397. οἱ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 40-3/*P. Coll. Youtie* 66, 40-3⁸⁶

398. οἱ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπόται Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 1-4/*P. Coll. Youtie* 66, 1-4

XXI. Valerianus and Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group C

399. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. τὸ γ' καὶ Γαλλ. τὸ β' Σεββ. υππ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1957) 19/*SEG* 17 (1960) 528

400. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Γερμ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ δ' αυτ. τὸ β' υπ. τὸ β' π. π. ανθυπ....ό κυρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1966) 460/*AE* (1968) 500/*SK* 18387

XXII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

401. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. Aug. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. fil. P. Lic. Val. nep.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26110⁸⁶The titulature formula is mostly restored here, but seems correct. See also the following (398) formula.⁸⁷The tribunician and *imperator* iterations are restored.

402. *nobb. princ. nn. Val. et Gall. et Val. Caes. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1950) 63

403. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg. et Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 875/*ILS* 4345

404. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. et Val. nob. Caes. Pii. Fell. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1224/*RJSC* 33/*RIB* 913

405. *Impp. Val. et Gall. Augg. et Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 107/*ILS* 537/*RIB* 334/König 1981, 19

406. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug. nep. Imp. P. Lic. Gall. fil.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 615/*ILM* 77/*IAM* II 407

407. *Impp. dd. nn. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pii. Fell. Augg. et P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1128/*CIL* VIII 22302

408. *Impp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILAlg* I 2047

409. *Impp. Caess. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Pii. Fell. Augg. et P. Cor. Lic. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1917-8) 17/*ILAT* 356/*CILB* 91

410. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. nep. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 5958

411. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et P. Lic. Eg. Cor. Val. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7608/*IDR* V 100

412. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nep. et fil. dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 12/*ILS* 553/König 1981, 16

XXIII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group C

413. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Aug. p. p. (sic) pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos. IV (sic) P. Lic. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8028

414. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. et P. Cor. Eg. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 37/*EE* viii 770/*ILS* 538⁸⁸

415. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. IV et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. III et P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1951) 389

416. *Impp. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV procos. imp. III p. p. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. p. p. et P. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *ADJug* 600/*ILJug* I 361⁹⁰

⁸⁸I print the text as given by Deasau. Another fragmentary stone from Sardinia (*EE* viii 797) probably belongs here. However, it is so mutilated that it cannot be restored with any confidence.

⁹⁰*[Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Valeriani Pii Felicis] Invicti Aug(usti) [pont(ificis) max(imi) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) ? co(n)s(ul)is IIII et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Eg(na)lii Gasilieni Pii / Felicis Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) c)o(n)s(ul)is III et P(ubli) Licini [Cornelii ? / Valeriani nobilissimi Caes(aris)].*

⁹⁰This inscription was copied in 1801 and all that remains is that copy. Therefore, the reading is very uncertain. I give the text proposed by Christol 1975, 817 no. 69.

XXIV. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

417. Οὐαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 2 (1)

418. Οὐαλλ. Γαλλ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *SB* 7290, 4-791

419. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Οὐαλ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 4 (1)

420. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 3 (4)

421. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Οὐαλ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 5 (2)⁹¹

422. Αυττ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Οὐαλ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 859, 7141

423. οἱ θειότατοι Αυττ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Οὐαλ. νέος Καισ.

Inscriptions: *Moesia Inf.* – *IGBulg* 834

424. Αυττ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Οὐαλ. Σεββ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 720

425. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Οὐαλ. επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Inscriptions: *Arabia* – *SEG* 16 (1959) 807, 808⁹¹This papyrus is dated to 25 June 257, thus Valerian II is the other Valerian here. See *Bureth* p. 118, no. 3.⁹²*P. Lips.* 3,II,3 and *P. Strab.* 6,II,15, because they date to year four, belong to Valerian II.

426. Αυττ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Οὐαλ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 721, 7083; *KBM* 262
Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 860

427. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Αἴλιος (sic) Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ. καὶ θεοφλέστατος Καισ. Κορ. Οὐαλ.

Inscriptions: *Moesia Inf.* – *AE* (1969/70) 573/*SEG* 24 (1969) 969/*IGBulg* 251

428. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσο. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Οὐαλ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 6 (3)

429. Αυτ. Καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Οὐαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ.

Inscriptions: *Asia* – *CIG* 3182/*CIL* III 412/*IGRR* IV 1404/*IK* 24,1 604⁹³

430. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμῆ μεγγ. Ευσο. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 8 (1)⁹⁴⁹³According to Mommsen (*CIL* ad loc.), the junior emperor here is Saloninus. The more likely candidate, however, is the elder brother, Valerian II. Cf. Petzl, *IK* ad loc. Also, the restorations given here are those offered in *CIG*, which seem to fit the stone. In line 9, there does not at all seem to be room enough for Εὐσεβῆς for Gallienus. In line 10, while there would appear to be space for more than just Κορηήλιος, the remainder of the lacuna appears to be of a size to allow only two or three letters. Petzl (*IK* ad loc.) prefers to restore, Εὐσεβῆς in line 9, and Κλονήλιος Οὐαλεριανός] in line 10, arguing that these are necessary and that the letters will have been cut smaller so as to fit.⁹⁴*Bureth* lists under this formula two papyri: *P. Lond.* 953 and 211. Since the former dates to Phamenoth of year five, the Caesar in question is Valerian II. However, the latter dates to year seven, hence the Caesar is Saloninus.

431. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεβρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 1 (4);⁹⁵ *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3111, 15-7; XLIV 3182, 11-6

XXV. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group C

432. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸς ζ' υπ. τὸ δ' π. π. αυθυπ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸς ζ' υπ. τὸ γ' π. π. αυθυπ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. επιφ. Καισ.
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR* III 643/*TAM* II 784/ΑΕ (1929) 29/*SEG* 6 (1932) 759

XXVI. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

433. *d. n. P. Cor. Lic. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. nep. d. n. Imp. P. Lic. Val.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- ΑΕ (1971) 124/Sotgiu 1988, B21

434. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIL* III 184/*IGRR* III 1020/*ILS* 540/*OGIS* 262/*IGLS* 4028

435. *Sal. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. fil. Imp. Caes. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. nep.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 6221

⁹⁵For the corrected dating (to year four rather than year two) of *CPR* 176 and *P. Oxy.* X 1277, see Rea 1984a, 1126-8.

XXVII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group C

436. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. VII cos. IV p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p. procos. et P. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 826/*ILS* 539/König 1981, 7

XXVIII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Greek Titles, Group A

437. Ουαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεβρ.
Papyri: *SB* 776, 6-7;⁹⁶ *P. Mich.* XI 614, 7;⁹⁷ 615, 32

438. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *P. Hamb.* 20, 20-1⁹⁸

439. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Σαλ. Σεβρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 6 (1)

440. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ. οἱ κυρρ. Σεβρ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 5 (1)

⁹⁶See *Bureth* p. 118, no. 3. This papyrus dates to ■ September 259, hence Saloninus is the second Valerian in question.

⁹⁷This papyrus does not date to year three, but to year six. See Rea 1984a, 1130.

⁹⁸See Rea 1984a, 1133 for the correct reading and dating of this papyrus.

441. οἱ κύρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 4 (3)⁹⁹

442. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *P. Mich.* XI 615, 11-4¹⁰⁰

443. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. Ευσ. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 8 (1)¹⁰¹

444. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. Ευσ. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 9 (1)

445. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. Ευσ. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *P. Wisc.* I 7, 40-7¹⁰²

446. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. Ευσ. Ευττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 7 (6); *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2560, 23-6; XLIII 3134, 12-6; *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XVII 7, 11-3¹⁰³

⁹⁹Though *Bureth* dates *O. Bodl.* 1637 to year two, it would appear to date later. See Rea 1984a, 1131.

¹⁰⁰One would expect Ευσ. Ευττ. after Γερμ. μεγγ. However, there appears not to be space enough on the papyrus to accommodate the fuller reading. Thus, Shelton's reading looks right, though unique.

¹⁰¹*Bureth* lists two papyri with this formula. Only the second (*P. Lond.* 211) belongs to Salonus, and this because it dates to year seven.

¹⁰²Salonus must be the Caesar in question, since the papyrus is dated to year seven.

¹⁰³This papyrus is badly damaged. Both the year and much of Salonus' name must be restored, thus the Caesar in question could be Valerian II.

XXIX. Valerianus, Gallienus, Valerianus II and Salonus, Latin Titles, Group A

447. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. et P. Cor. Val. Pii. Augg. et Cor. Sal. Val iun. nobb. Caess. et Augg.*

Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 6956 (=12215)/*MAMA* VIII 8/König 1981, 6

448. *divus Caes. P. Cor. Lic. Val. nep. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. frater P. Cor. Lic. Sal. nob. Caes. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8473/*ILS* 557/König 1981, 5

XXX. Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

449. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. nob. Caes. fil. Gall. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIL* III 130

450. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Dacia -- *EE* iv 190/*CIL* III 7971/*ILS* 554/*IDR* III.2 82

XXXI. Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

451. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. νιός τοῦ Σεβ. Γαλλ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1974) 624/*IK* 28,1 13

452. ὁ ὀσιώτατος καὶ θειότατος Καισ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. νιός

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *CIG* 1621/*IG* VII 3105

453. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν θειότατος Αὐτ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ...ό θεοειδέστατος
καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Καῖσ. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. νέος Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Bithynia – *AE* (1939) 25

454. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. Οὐαλ. Σεβ. νιός
Inscriptions: Thrace – *IGRR* I 696/*IGBulg* 1911

XXXII. Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

455. *P. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Gall. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* XI 5380/*ILS* 559/*König* 1981, 12/*ELRA* 15

456. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sūp. – *CIL* XIII 5203/*RGA* 279/*WRIS* 155/*König* 1981,
33104

457. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia – Şahin et al. 1983, 50-1 no. 5

XXXIII. Gallienus and Saloninus, Greek Titles, Group A

458. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καῖσ. Κορ. Σαλ. Οὐαλ. Σεβ. νιός τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Cappadocia – *CIL* III 6957/*IGRR* IV 776

¹⁰⁴ *[Imp(erator) Caesar P(ublius) Lic(inius) Gallienus Pius F(elicis) Aug(ustus) ■ P(ublius) Lic(inius) Cornelius
Saloninus nobil(isimus)] Caesar.*

XXXIV. Gallienus, Valerianus II and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

459. *divus Caes. P. Cor. Lic. Val. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. frater P. Lic.
Sal. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Sicily – *CIL* X 7479/*ILMP* 70105

¹⁰⁵ *[Divo Caesari / P(ublio) Cornelio Licinio Valeriano / filio Imp(eratoris) Caejs(aris) P(ubli) Licinii Egnati /
Gallieni Pii Felic(is) Aug(usti) / fratrji P(ubli) Licinii Salo(ni) nobilissimi / Caes(aris) –.*

Regalianus
(ca. June - fall 260)

Pub(ius) Cor(nelius) Reg(alianus)

L Literary Testimonia

HA trig. tyr. 10.1 *Regalianus denique in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis..*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Pub. Cor. Reg. Aug.*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Carnuntum ?) -- *R/C* V.2 pp. 586-7; *HCC* IV p. 68

Macrianus and Quietus
(ca. early September 260 - summer/fall 261)

T(ius) Ful(vius) Jun(ius) Mac(rianus)
T(ius) Ful(vius) Jun(ius) Qu(ietus)

L Literary Testimonia

HA Gall. 1.2-4 *Gallieno igitur et Volusiano consulibus Macri< a >nus et Ballista in unum coeunt, exercitus reliquias convocant et, cum Romanum in oriente nutaret imperium, quem facerent imperatorem requirunt, Gallieno iam neglegenter se agente, ut eius ne mentio quidem apud exercitum fieret. placuit denique, ut Macri< a >nus cum filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem p. deffensandam} capesserent...*

HA trig. tyr. 12.1 ff. *Capto Valeriano...cum Gallienum contemnendum Ballista praefectus Valeriani et Macrianus primus du< cu >m intellegarent, quaerentibus etiam militibus principem unum in locum concesserunt quaerente< s >, quid faciendum esset. tuncque constitut Gallieno longe posito, Aureolo usurpante imperium debere aliquem principem fieri, et quidem optimum, ne quispiam tyrannus existaret...factus est igitur cum Macriano et Quieto duobus filiis cunctis militibus volentibus imperator ac statim contra Gallienum venire coepit...*

HA trig. tyr. 14.1 *Hic (i.e. Quietus), ut diximus, Macriani filius fuit. cum patre et fratre Ballistae iudicio imperator est factus.*

Zonaras 12.24 *Kai ἄλλος δὲ τῷ Γαλιήνῳ κεκίνητο πόλεμος παρὰ Μακρίνου, δς δύο ἔχων υἱοὺς Μακριανὸν καὶ Κύνιτου, τυραννιζοί ἐπικεχείρηκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μέν, δτι θάτερον πεπίρωτο τῶν σκελῶν, οὐκ ἐνέδυ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλείου, τοῖς δ' υἱοῖς αὐτὴν περιέλαβε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσιᾳ ἀσμένιως αὐτὸν προσεδέξαντο.*

II. Macrianus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Ful. Mac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 580-1; *HCC* IV pp. 66-7¹

III. Macrianus, Greek Titles, Group A

2. Τ. Φουλ. Μακ. Αυγ.
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 465

3. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουλ. Μακ. Σεβ.
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 733-4; *KBM* 263

4. Αυτ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Μακ. Σεβ.
Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 109, 5-6²
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 97

5. Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Μακ. Ευσ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3011-2

6. δ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ.
Ιουν Μακ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIG* 3710/*IGRR* III 27

¹Coins of Macrianus may also have been minted at Emesa. See *HCC* IV pp. lxiv-lexv.

²The obverse legend of no. 5 reads, Α ΦΟΥΛ ΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕ. No. 6 is damaged, but may have the same legend.

IV. Quietus, Latin Titles, Group A

7. *Imp. Caes. Ful. Qu. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 582-3; *HCC* IV p. 67

V. Quietus, Greek Titles, Group A

8. Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Κυ. Ευσ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3013-4

VI. Macrianus and Quietus, Greek Titles, Group A

9. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Μακ. καὶ Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Κυ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476, 7-8

10. Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1896) 132/*IGRR* I 1181/*PdD* 90³
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 1 (2)

11. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 3 (10); *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XIX 15, 1-2

12. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Καισσ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 1 (1)

³The reading is that given in *PdD*.

13. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Ευστ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 2 (1)

14. Αυττ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Μακ. καὶ Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Κυ. Ευστ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 2 (7); *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476, 12-3; L 3597, 37-9; *P. Coll. Youtie* 67, 47-9; *P. Ups. Frid.* 5, 30-4

VII. Macrianus and Quietus, Greek Titles, Group C

15. κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Μακ. τὸ β' καὶ Κυ. τὸ β' (?) υπν.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2710, 8-9⁴

Aureolus

(ca. April/May - late September 268)

L Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 33.17-8 *Namque Aureolus, cum per Raetias legionibus praeesset, excitus, uti mos est, socordia tam ignavi ducis sumpro imperio Romanum contendebat.*

Epit. de Caes. 32.5 ...*Mediolani Aureolus dominatum invasere.*

HA *trig. tyr.* 11.1 *Hic quoque [in] Illyricianos exercitus regens in contemptu Gallieni, ut omnes eo tempore, coactus a miliiibus sumpsit imperium.*

Zonaras 12.25 Αὐθις δὲ ἐτέρα κατὰ τοῦ Γαλιήνου ἐπανάστασις γέγονεν, ἡν Αύριολος συνεστήσατο...

Zosimus 1.38.1 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ Μέμορός τε τοῦ Μαυρουσίου καὶ Αύριολου...Αύριολος δὲ ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διετέλεσεν ἔχων.

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Aureolus Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 589
2. *Imp. Caes. Aureolus Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 589

⁴The editors suggest the second consulate for Quietus as well.

Claudius II
(early September 268 - mid-August 270)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Claud(ius)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 33.28 Nam cum proflvio sanguinis vulnere tam gravi mortem sibi (i.e. Gallieno) adesse intelligeret, insignia imperii ad Claudium destinaverat...

Epit. de Caes. 34.2 Hic Claudius Gallieni morientis sententia imperator designatur...

Eutrop. 9.11.1 ...Claudiusque ei successit a militibus electus, a senatu appellatus Augustus.

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.23.1 ...Claudius...voluntate senatus sumpsit imperium...

Zonaras 12.26 Τοῦ μέντοι Γαλιήνου ἀνηρημένου Κλαύδιος ἀνερρήθη Καίσαρ.

Zosimus 1.41.1 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κελεύσει τῶν ἡγουμένων ἡσυχασάντων, Κλαύδιος τὴν τῶν δλων ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει...

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Claud.*

Inscriptions: Sicily -- *CIL X 7281/ILMP 23*
Numidia -- *EE vii 767/CIL VIII 17880*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 257, 261; HCC IV p. 81*
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 262 ff.; HCC IV pp. 80-1*
Gaul (?) -- *RIC V.1 256*

2. *divus Claud. Goth.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 264*
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 263*

3. *Claud. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 93*
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 232, 240*

4. *Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 166*

5. *d. n. Inv. Aug. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 10182 (=22300)*

6. *Imp. Claud.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 59*

6a. *divus Claud. optimus Imp.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 292 ff.*

7. *Imp. Claud. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 136, 147*
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 2 ff.; HCC IV 27-37, 40-50*
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC V.1 176, 181 ff.; HCC IV 67-72*
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 239, 244, 249*
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.1 199 ff.*

8. *Imp. Claud. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC V.1 260*

9. *Imp. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 131 ff.; HCC IV 51-65*
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 39, 42, 44, 82, 117, 119, 128*
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 230, 234, 238, 247-8, 252, 254*
Asia (Ephesus/Cyzicus ?) -- *HCC IV 86-7*
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.1 223*

10. *Imp. Caes. Claud.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 180, 190
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4987, 8587
11. *Imp. Claud. Caes. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 188¹
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1959) 279
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3702
14. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 146, 169; *Gnecchi* III p. 63, 9 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 5 ff.; *HCC* IV 1-26
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 178, 184
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 197 ff.; *HCC* IV 73-84
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Aug.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 227 ff.; *HCC* IV 88
Asia (Ephesus/Cyzicus ?) -- *HCC* IV 85
16. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. divus Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10373 (=22494)
17. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 50
18. *Imp. Claud. Caes. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 189

¹The coin is best read as [OR]BIS, although Cohen conjectured [PIETAT]IS. See also Webb's note, *RIC* V.1 p. 227.

19. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 130 ff.; *Gnecchi* II p. 112, 1 ff.; III p. 63, 8 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118, 127
20. *Imp. Caes. M. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13322
21. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 7685/*Pais* 976/*Inscript. Ital.* IX,1 41a
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 15105²
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26265³
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22615
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 1
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 1
22. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 4869/*Alföldy* 1984b, no. 274/*Inscript. Ital.* X,5 1031
Numidia -- *AE* (1909) 15/*JLS* 9073/*JLAig* II 8; *CIL* VIII 4413,
10130, 10146, 10384 (=22466)
23. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val. (sic) Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1374/*RIB* 2246/*König* 1981, 63⁴

III. Latin Titles, Group B

24. *d. n. Claud. Aug....d. n. Inv. Claud. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4289/*RIU* II 385

²The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

³The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

⁴*Imp(eratori) {C(aesar) M(arco)} / Aur(elio) {Val(erio)} / Cl(audio)...*

25. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 576/*CIL* VIII 22052

26. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11333b

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 616/*ILM* 78/*LAM* II 408

28. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13323

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *ILJug* II 1196
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5330/*ILAlg* I 245; *CIL* VIII 5331/*ILAlg* I 246

30. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1936) 58

31. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. 'is' (is duobus) pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- Boninu & Stylov 1982, 37-44 no. 3/*AE* (1984) 446/Sotgiu 1988, B179

32. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *LAM* II 104⁵

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3737/*IRV* 16/König 1981, 66
Alpes -- *AE* (1898) 149/*AE* (1913) 14/*ILG* 9/König 1981, 71
Noricum -- *RIS* 7
Numidia -- *EE* v 1129/*CIL* VII 22315

⁵The first two lines of this stone read, *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) Claudi(o) Gae thico | Aug(usto) Germ(anico) / max(imo) pont(ifici) max(imo) tri/b(unicia) potest...s imp(eratori) II s.* Hübner (*EE* ad loc.) notes that *Gaethico* is equivalent to *Gothico*, but that it does not belong where it stands in the titular formula, and that it never appears elsewhere with *Germanicus maximus*. Thus, he suggests that it is a mistake for *P(io) Felici* *Invicto*. Boninu & Stylov 1982, 42 n. 38 think the suggestion unlikely.

34. *d. n. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. Imp. cos. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3833/*ELST* 19/König 1981, 67

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

35. *M. Aur. Claud. Goth. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. II*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 318⁶

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. imp. II cos. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1890) 88/*EE* viii 745/Sotgiu 1988, C118

37. *divus Claud. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 285

38. *Imp. Claud. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 11-2; *HCC* IV 38-9

39. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 10

39a. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *Gnechi* II p. 113, 7

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1179

⁶The stone reads, *M(arco) Aur(elio) Claudio Gae thico | Aug(usto) Germ(anico) / max(imo) pont(ifici) max(imo) tri/b(unicia) potest...s imp(eratori) II s.* Hübner (*EE* ad loc.) notes that *Gaethico* is equivalent to *Gothico*, but that it does not belong where it stands in the titular formula, and that it never appears elsewhere with *Germanicus maximus*. Thus, he suggests that it is a mistake for *P(io) Felici* *Invicto*. Boninu & Stylov 1982, 42 n. 38 think the suggestion unlikely.

41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. – AE (1934) 43/AE (1942/43) 114⁷

42. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4879/IRR 59/König 1981, 69/ERR 74⁸

43. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- CIL XII 2228/ILS 569/König 1981, 72

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. maximusque princ. n.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4505/ILS 568/IRB 24/König 1981, 70

45. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 3619/JR 2/König 1981, 65
Numidia -- Lepelley 1981, 191-2 no. 7

46. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val. (?) Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- AE (1894) 54/CIL VIII 23972⁹

47. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- ILAlg II 2410

48. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 1672/König 1981, 64

⁷The tribunician iteration is here restored.

⁸It is not clear whether this stone belongs to Claudius, or to Tacitus (45). The stone reads, *Imp(eratori) C(aes)ari) Marco [---] / Claudio [---] / [---] / [---] / pont(ifici) m(aximo) / trib(unicia) po[test(ate)] / II proc(onsuli) [---]*.

⁹The first line of this stone reads, *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) V(alerio ?).*

¹⁰*[Imp(eratori) Cae]s(ari) M(arco) Au[relio] Claudio In/victo] Pi[us] Felici Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriae) po[ni]f(ici) / max(im)o t[ri]b(unicia) po[test(ate)] II [co(n)s(uli)] II.*

49. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Germ. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- CIL III 3521/ILS 570

50. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Aug. Fel. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- AE (1890) 153/ILG 651/König 1970, 121/König 1981, 73/CIL XVII 159

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 4876/ILS 571/ILAlg I 1268

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 3834 (=6019)/ELST 21/König 1981, 68

53. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos. (?)*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- CIL XII 5511/König 1970, 111/König 1981, 74/CIL XVII 1491¹¹

54. *Claud. Pi. Aug. Inv. cos. III*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.1 177¹²

55. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Aug. cos. III*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 181 no. 351¹³

¹¹*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aurelio Claudio / Pio Fel(ici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) / max(im)o Germanico / m]ax(im)o Got[hico max(im)o] / ub(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(uli) II / p(atri) p(atriae) / [proco]n(s)uli ? / --. I might note that Vitucci 1952, 134 n. 3 suggests restoring Probus rather than Claudius to this stone. See also Walser (CIL XVII ad loc.). The restoration of *Germanicus maximus* here also seems questionable. The stone is now lost, with little text having been transmitted. One other stone from Narbonensis (above 43) has the title, which is otherwise rare.*

¹²Webb ad loc., remarks that COS III here is a blunder. He claims that the coin is of "rough workmanship."

¹³Marcillet-Jaubert ad loc., suggests that the III refers to mileage, rather than to consular iterations.

V. Greek Titles, Group A

56. Κλαυδ. Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 1 (4); *P. Oxy.* XL 2929, 2

57. Κλαυδ. Σεβ. Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 2 (2)

58. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Κλαυδ. Σεβ. Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 1 (1); *P. Turner* 37, 27-8

59. Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβ. Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 3 (1)

60. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβ. Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 2 (2)

61. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Coins: Lycia (Prostanna) -- *SNGAul* 5151-2
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5202-24, 8628-30, 8632
Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5238-40, 8633

62. Αυγ. Αυτ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Καισ. Inscriptions: *Achaea* -- *CIG* 1622/*IG* VIII 2502

63. Αυτ. Καισ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ. Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 100; *KAK* 3015-48

64. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ. Inscriptions: Cyrene -- *AE* (1919) 94/*Oliverio* p. 102 no. 68/*AE* (1934) 257/*SEG* 9 (1944) 9
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 8631
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5325
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 4 (1)

65. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ. Inscriptions: *Achaea* -- *JG* VII 82

66. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Inscriptions: *Achaea* -- *SEG* 11.2 (1954) 769
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 5 (5); *P. Oxy.* XL 2892i, 16-8; 2892ii, 15-8; 2893i, 18-21; 2894ii, 24-8; 2894iii, 22-5; 2895i, 14-7; 2895ii, 23-5; 2896, 10-2; 2901, 10-3; 2913ii, 18-20; 2913iii, 14-8; 2914i, 22-5; 2914ii, 8-11

67. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3477, 18-20

VI. Greek Titles, Group C

68. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. τὸ β' αὐθυπ. π. π. Inscriptions: *Bithynia* -- *CIG* 3748/*IGRR* III 40

69. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ β' υπ. π. π. αὐθυπ. Inscriptions: *Bithynia* -- *CIG* 3747/*Syll.*³ 895/*IGRR* III 39

Quintillus
(ca. late August - mid-September 270)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Claud(ius) Quint(illus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Eutrop. 9.12 *Quintillus post eum, Claudii frater, consensu milium imperator electus est...*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag. 7.23.2* *Claudio mortuo Quintillus frater eius ab exercitu imperator electus...*

Zonaras 12.26 ἐν δὲ τῷ Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐνόσησε, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ λογιμώτατον τοῦ στρατεύματος περὶ βασιλέως διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν Αύρηλιανὸν ἔξιν τῆς βασιλείας εἶπε τυγχάνειν, εἰσὶ δὲ λέγοντις ὅτι καὶ αὐτίκα βασιλέα ἀνείπεν αὐτὸν. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγοντις τὴν σύγκλητον ἐν Ἀράμη μαθοῦσαν τοῦ Κλαύδιου τὸν θάνατον, Κυντιλιανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκείνου διὰ τὸν πρὸς Κλαύδιον πόθον ἀξιώσαι τῆς βασιλείας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν Αύρηλιανόν.

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Quint.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 15¹
2. *Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 41

3. *Imp. Quint.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 12
4. *Imp. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- RIC V.1 44 ff.; HCC IV 23-8
Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 40, 42-3
5. *Imp. Claud. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 11, 34
6. *Imp. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 14
7. *Imp. Quint. Aug. Inv.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- RIC V.1 56
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 32, 36
9. *Imp. Quint. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- RIC V.1 82-7
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Claud. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 30
11. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.1 1 ff.; HCC IV 1-22
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.1 64 ff.; HCC IV 29-30
- 11a. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- Gnechi II p. 113, 1

¹Webb (ad loc.) suggests that the coin is an irregular Gallic issue.

III. Latin Titles, Group B

12. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Quint. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *JLSard* 237/Sotgiu 1988, A237
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1.5
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 670/*CIL* VIII 22598/*ILS* 573

IV. Greek Titles, Group A

15. *Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Κλαύδ. Κυνικ. Σεβ.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 102; *KAK* 3049-50

Aurelian

(mid to late August 270 - mid-September/early December 275)

L(ucius) Dom(itius) Aur(elianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

HA Aurelian. 17.5 ...consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator.

idem 30.4-5 *Pacato igitur oriente in Europam Aurelianus redit victor atque illuc
Carporum copias adfixit et, cum illum Carpicum senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse[ti]
ioco fertur: "superest p. c., ut me etiam Carpisculum vocetis." carp[li]isc<1>um enim genus
calciamenti esse satis notum est. <quod> cognomen [quod] deforme videbatur, cum et
Gothicus et Sarmaticus et Armenianus et Parthicus et Adiabenicus iam ille di[s]ceretur.*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Dom. Aur.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13314
2. *deus Aur.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3832/*ELST* 22
Italy -- *CIL* XI 556
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4877/*ILS* 585
3. *L. Dom. Aur. deus*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1938) 24/*IRV* 17

4. *divus Aur.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 358/*CIL* VIII 17881
Sardinia -- *Sotgiu* 1988, B96
5. *Aur. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIL* III 327/*ILS* 2775/*TAM* IV 137
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 125, 135, 148; *HCC* IV 47-9
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 66
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 248, 250
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 261, 273, 277
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 362, 365
6. *d. n. Aur. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2626
7. *divus Aur. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 25820/*CILB* 198
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10961 (= 22295)
8. *Aur. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6309/*IP* 20
9. *Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 290
10. *Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 375
11. *deus et d. natus Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 306
12. *d. n. Aur. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 29/*Inscript. Ital.* X,1 43; *CIL* IX 2327, 2099, 6308/*ILS* 583/*IP* 19
Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 617/*ILM* 79/*IAM* II 409

13. *Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 299
14. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 222/*ILS* 586
15. *pacatissimus L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 611/*CIL* VIII 22175
16. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2665/*ILS* 584
17. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Goth. max.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12517¹
18. *Imp. Aur.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1891) 50/*CIL* III 12456²
19. *Imp. L. Dom. Aur.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22010
20. *d. n. Imp. Aur.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3330/*Alfoldy* 1984b, 200³

¹{d(omino) n(ostro) / L(ucio)} Domitio Aureliano Pio Felicis / Invicto Aug(usto) / Germanico max(imo) / Gothico max(imo) / --.

²The *AE* editors restore *dominus noster* to this stone; however, the *CIL* editors, rightly, do not.

³Ulpiae Severi/nae Aug(ustae) coiu[gi] / d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) Aurelia/ni--. It is possible that Aug(usti) was also here included.

21. *Imp. Aur. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1, 5
 Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 94, 96
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 101ff.; *HCC* IV 34-45, 50-1
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 42 ff.; *HCC* IV 4-7, 9-16, 18-34
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 156 ff.; *HCC* IV 69-84; *Gnechii* I p. 9,
 4; III p. 64, 4 ff.
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 260 ff.; *HCC* IV 99
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 379, 382, 385, 388
 unknown -- *RIC* V.1 391 ff.

22. *d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10450

23. *Imp. Aur. Aug. pacator orbis*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 4, 7

24. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor exerciti*

Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 366; *HCC* IV 105-7

25. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor gentis*

Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 401

26. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 139
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 53; *HCC* IV 8
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 289
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 348-9, 369; *HCC* IV 108
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 399, 403

27. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 140-1; *HCC* IV 46, 52-4
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 233-4
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 350-1; *HCC* IV 101
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 404

28. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor saeculi*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 52
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 235

29. *Imp. deus et d. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 305

30. *Imp. Aur. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 302-3

31. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 253
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 264, 281, 310, 315

32. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 298, 304

33. *pacatissimus Imp. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. invictissimus*

Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 602/*CIL* VIII 22103

34. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 77-8; *Gnechii* II p. 113, 1 ff.
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 262

35. *Imp. d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10180

36. *magnus et Inv. d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1114

37. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 297

38. *Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- Carcopino & Focillon 1904, 215 no. 42⁴39. *pacatissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 607/ *CIL* VIII 22113; *EE* v 1098/ *EE* vii 597/ *CIL* VIII 10088 (=22096)40. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22209/ *ILA*g I 387741. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22067; *EE* vii 618/ *CIL* VIII 22120; *EE* vii 625/ *CIL* VIII 22132
Numidia -- *EE* vii 623/ *CIL* VIII 22178; *CIL* VIII 10154 (=22244), 2224142. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur.*Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13317 (=14020)⁵43. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur.*Inscriptions:⁶ Britain -- *EE* ix p. 633/ *CIL* VII 1152/ *RIB* 2227/ König 1981, 130
Italy -- *CIL* XI 2636

Numidia -- Salama 1951/52, 230 no. 7

Coins: Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAul* 5116-22, 8608-1044. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur.*Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 176/ *EE* viii 747⁷⁴ *[Imp(eratori) L(ucio) Domitio Aurelia(n)o Invicto Pio Felici August(o)].*⁵ *[Imp(eratori) Caesar <i> D[omi]n[i]o / [Aur]eliano / --.*⁶ All of the following inscriptions break after all or part of the name Aurelianus.⁷ The stone is broken after, *[Aureli]anus.*45. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 23924⁸46. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 86, 90, 93, 98-100
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 150; *HCC* IV 55-8
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 14 ff.
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 151-4; *HCC* IV 59-68
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 166 ff.; *HCC* IV 85-96
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 259 ff.
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 323, 353, 356, 363
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 371 ff.; *HCC* IV 110
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 390; *HCC* IV 116-847. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 87, 91-2, 95, 97
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 13, 27
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 165, 190, 197, 202, 214
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 258, 266, 268, 271-2
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 327-9, 331, 339
uncertain -- *HCC* IV 119-2048. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 10 ff.; *HCC* IV 2
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 155 ff.; *Gnechi* I p. 9, 3
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 33049. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pacator orbis*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 650. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. restitutor gentis*Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 400, 402⁸ *[Pro sal(ute)] Imp(eratori) Caes(aris) L(ucii) Domiti Aureliani Pi[...]*

51. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 288; *HCC* IV 100
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 347, 367-8
Syria (Antioch) -- *HCC* IV 111-5
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 389

52. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 294, 287

53. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 374; *HCC* IV 109

54. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1930) 150/*RIT* 87⁹

55. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 301

56. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 263, 309

57. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 296

58. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 292

59. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Inv. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 300

60. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 285-6

61. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2309/*König* 1981, 131; *Hassall & Tomlin* 1984, 337-41 no. 12
Africa -- *ILAlg* I 3891
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10374/*ILS* 5855; *CIL* VIII 22448
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1934) 44/*LAM* II 106
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 130
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 8-9, 15, 31; *HCC* IV 1; *Gnechi* I p. 9, 1-2
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 160, 163, 179, 182, 226
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 280, 311, 314

62. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. C. (sic) Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1894) 59/*CIL* VIII 23114

63. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 295

64. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 291, 293

65. *d. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. victoriosus Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1214

66. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10076 (=22058)
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10133

67. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2201/*König* 1981, 118
Italy -- *CIL* VI 1113
Galatia -- *EE* v 80/*CIL* III 6902
Syria -- *CIL* III 313b
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10134, 10147; *Marcellat-Jaubert* 1980, 181 no. 34
Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1929) 137
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1949) 35

⁹dominae [sanc]tissimae / [Ulpiae Severinae P[ro]p[ter]ae] / Aug(ustae) [coniugi d(omiini) n(ostr)i] / Imp(eratoris)
Caes(aris) [L(uci) Domiti Aureli/ani In]v(icti) [Aug(usti)].

68. *Aug. n. Imp. Caes. divus Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1319/vii 46/*CIL* VIII 11318

69. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184/*RRM* I 43c
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10443

70. *sanctissimus et super omnes principes victoriosissimus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3878

III. Latin Titles, Group B

71. *Aur. Aug. cos.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *Gnechhi* III p. 64, 5-8
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 319-22

72. *Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 159

73. *Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *Robinson* 1926, 227 no. 55

74. *Imp. Aur. Aug. cos. princ. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 3

75. *Imp. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 324-5

76. *d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 22/*EE* viii 796

77. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9139/*RGAI* 287/König 1981, 136/*CIL* XVII 562

78. *perpetuus gloriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22361

79. *perpetuus victoriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Marcillet-Jaubert* 1980, 184 no. 40;¹⁰ *CIL* VIII 10205
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 20537

80. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *LAM* II 105¹¹

81. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4732/König 1981 119¹²

82. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. cos. princ. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2

83. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 157

84. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3579

¹⁰The stone breaks after *Pio Felici Aug(usto)*. The restoration is based on *CIL* VIII 10217. The other inscriptions listed here are also fragmentary, and I have restored them to belong here.

¹¹{*Imp(eratori)*} *Caesari / L(ucio) Domitlio Aурелiano / Pio Felici Invicto / pont(ifici) max(imo)}*

Germanifico max(imo) / ...Pjanifico max(imo)...

¹²This stone is broken after mentioning the tribunician power.

85. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *CIL* III 14149,18¹³

86. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1180

87. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21985
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 158

88. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *JRT* 52

89. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 559/*CIL* VIII 15450

90. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1953) 129

91. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1905) 116/*CIL* VIII 23066

92. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- Waldmann 1981, 95 no. 1

93. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5553/König 1970, 126/König 1981, 126/*CIL* XVII 164
Alpes -- *CIL* XII 58/König 1981, 121
Arabia -- *AE* (1896) 137

94. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Arab. max. Pers. max. Imp. Horientis* (sic)
Inscriptions: Phoenicia -- *AE* (1936) 129¹⁴

95. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14460

96. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 77515

97. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22564

98. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. fortissimus princ.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 4320/*Inscript. Ital.* X,5 104¹⁶

99. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5577/*ILS* 575

100. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. et procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4178

101. *pacator ■ restitutor orbis Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Pers. max. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5561/König 1970, 134/König 1981, 128/*CIL* XVII 172

¹⁴On this stone, Keitenhofea 1986, 139.

¹⁵*EE* viii 787 possibly belongs here; however, it is much damaged and cannot be restored with certainty.

¹⁶*Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari)] / L(ucio) Do[minus] / A[urelio] Felic(i) Invic[ito] Au[g(usto)] p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) / pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriae) [co(n)suli] proco(n)suli / M(arcus) Au[relius] ? - / Rufi[-] / P P NEC[-?] / for[missimo] principi.*

¹³The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

102. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. incomparabilis ac Inv. semper Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Brit. max. Goth. Sarm. max. reparator conservator patriae procos.*
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *CIL* III 12333/König 1981, 116;¹⁷ *CIL* III 13715/König 1981, 117

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

103. *Aur. Aug. (iterum) cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ELS* 22

104. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. II cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6238 (=14459)

105. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 953

106. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. pont. max. Parth. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Carp. max. restitutor patriae*
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7586/*ILS* 8925¹⁸

107. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *AE* (1897) 49/*AE* (1900) 31/*EE* ix 1/*IRCP* 4

108. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1969/70) 646

108a. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4459/*IRCL* 22

109. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10017

110. *perpetuus victorissimus (sic) indulgentissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10177

111. *perpetuus victoriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10217/*ILS* 578

112. *perpetuus gloriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22449

113. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. V (?) p. p. cos. II procos. indulgentissimus invictissimus princ.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 2673¹⁹

114. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 185

115. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 16; *HCC* IV 17
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 186

¹⁷This stone may well not really attest Aurelian. See Keitenhofen 1986, 140-1.

¹⁸Another inscription (*CIL* VIII 9040) is attributed to Aurelian by Mommsen, and has *tr. pot. III cos.* Deininger 1970, 121-4 has demonstrated, however, that this is really an inscription of Gallienus.

¹⁹[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)] / L(ucio) Domitio] / Aureliano / P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) / Germ(anico) max(imo) / Goth(ico) [max(imo) / Parth(ico) max(imo) / ...?] tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) [V ?] / imp(eratori) co(n)s(uli) II / DDAL (= [in]d[u]l[g]?) invictis(simo) / pri(ncipi).*

116. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Carp. max. indulgentissimus invictissimus princ. restitutor libertatis cos. II des. III procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – de Kisch 1980, 343-420

117. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. Carp. max. tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III p. p. procos. restitutor orbis fortissimus et victoriosissimus princ.*
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL VI 1112

118. *perpetuus Imp. Inv. Imp. fortissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Carp. max. cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa – IRT 943

119. *d. n. Aur. Aug. III cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL VI 30976

120. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania – CIL XIII 8868/König 1981, 132/CIL XVII 319

121. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*
Inscriptions: Africa – CIL VIII 22011

122. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Arab. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. tr. pot. III cos. III procos. III princ. n.*
Inscriptions: Hispania – CIL II 4506/ILS 576/IRB 25/König 1981, 120

²⁰All of the titles from *indulgentissimus* through *libertatis* are resolved from the abbreviation, IIPL.

123. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. procos. V imp. III cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 5548/ILS 582/König 1970, 120/König 1981, 125/CIL XVII 158²¹

124. *restitutor orbis Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 5456/ILS 577/König 1970, 31/König 1981, 123/CIL XVII 31

125. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. max. Germ. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis – CIL XIII 8904/König 1981, 133/CIL XVII 351²²

126. *magnus Aug. princ. max. Imp. fortissimus conservator orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. V p. p. cos. III procos. Goth. max. Palmyr. max. Germ. max.*
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL V 4319/ILS 579

127. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Pers. max. tr. pot. V imp. cos. III indulgentissimus invictissimus princ. restitutor Galliarum*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 2673 (= 5571a)/König 1970, 270/König 1981, 129/CIL XVII 184²³

²¹The chronological indications given by this stone (lines 10-1) are problematic: PRO V INP / III COS. Hirschfeld (CIL XII ad loc.) tentatively accepted a resolution suggested by Wilmanns, *pr. f[ili]f[ive]n. f[ribunicia] p[otestate]*. On the other hand, E. Groag, *RE* V 1388 suggested, *P[e]r/s. max. tr[i]b[.] p. III cos. I* have taken the stone more literally, assuming the V to be an *imperator* iteration, and the III to be a consular iteration. See now also Walser (CIL XVII 11 loc.).

²²This stone is very poorly inscribed, with a number of orthographic mistakes.

²³[*Imp[eratori] Caes[ari] I / L[ucia] Dom[itio] / Aureliano / P[io] F[elic]i Aug[ust]o p[ontifici] m[aximo] / Germ[anico] max[imo] / Goth[ico] max[imo] / Car[pico] max[imo] Pers[ico] / max[imo] tr[ibunicia] pot[estate] / [V] imp[eratori] co[n]suli II[I] / [in]dul[gentissimo] invictis(simo) / pri[ncipi] restit[ut(ori)] / Gallia[rum]*.

128. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5143/*ILS* 580/*JLAlg* I 868

129. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos. restitutor orbis*

Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *ILG* 645/König 1970, 79/König 1981, 122/*CIL* XVII 79²⁴

130. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*

Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8997/König 1981, 135/*CIL* XVII 404²⁵

131. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. p. p. tr. pot. VI cos. III*

Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 149²⁶

132. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. VI (?) cos. III (?) p. p. procos. pacator et restitutor orbis*

Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5549/König 1970, 122/König 1981, 127/*CIL* XVII 160²⁷

²⁴*CIL* XII 5509/XVII 150 may also have the combination *tr. pot. VI cos. III* for Aurelian, but the stone is very fragmentary, and has been attributed to Commodus, Gallienus, Aurelian and Postumus. See also below, Postumus 59a.

²⁵The tribunician iteration is here restored.

²⁶The stone is reconstructed from a number of fragments, and thus the reading is conjectural, *Im{p(erator)} Caesar Domitius] Aurelianus / Pi[us Felix Augustus p]ontifice[s] / m[aximus Parth]icus maximus pat[er] [patriae tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)] VI consul III.*

²⁷*Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Domitius] / Aurelianus] P(ius) F(elix) Inv[i]ctus / Au[g(ustus)] p[ontifex] m[aximus] Ger[manic]us] max(imus) / Go[thic]us] max(imus) Carp[ic]us] max(imus) / Par[th]icus] max(imus) m[aximus] trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI ? co(n)sul / III ? p[ater] p[atriae] proco[n]sul pacator et / restitutor orb[is].*

133. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. VII cos. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Dac. max. Carp. max. imp.*

Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8973/*ILS* 581/König 1981, 134/*CIL* XVII 498²⁸

V. Greek Titles, Group A

134. *Aup.*

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 1 (7)

135. *Aup. ὁ ἐν θεοῖς*

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3613, 5

136. *Aup. ὁ κυρ.*

Papyri: *P. Ups. Frid.* 7, 7

137. *Λ. Δομ. Aup. Σεβ.*

Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* IX 1

138. *ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Aup. Σεβ.*

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 4 (7);²⁹ *P. Oxy.* LI 3612, 9; *P. Stras.* 671, 19

139. *Aup. Καισ. ὁ κυρ. Σεβ.*

Papyri: *P. Mich.* XIV 676, 19-20

²⁸The stone breaks after, *im{p(erator)} --*

²⁹*P. Oslo* 144, 4, which *Bureth* p. 122 no. 2 lists with the formula *Aup. Σεβ.*, really belongs here. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 194.

140. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Αὐρ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *SEG* 16 (1959) 814/*AE* (1922) 130
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 5 (3)

141. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θείστατος Αὐτ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 28 (1978) 578

142. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4758
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4864
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5326
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 103; *KAK* 3051-2, 3066-3101

143. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1900) 145

144. ὁ μέγιστος Καισ. Σεβ. κυρ. ἡμέτερος ἀδεττητος Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 709

145. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1971) 444/*SEG* 25 (1971) 423
Asia -- *CIL* III 472/*CIG* 3179/*IGRR* IV 1482/*SEG* 26 (1976/77)
1298/*IK* 24,1 815b
Cyprus -- *AE* (1953) 174
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)

146. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (1); *P. Oxy.* XL 2902, 17-9; 2903, 16-8; *P. Mich.* XIV 676, 23-4

147. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Ανικ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (3);³⁰ *P. Ups. Frid.* 6, 17-9

³⁰On this formula see, Sijpesteijn 1984, 77 n. 38.

148. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Καρπ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 2 (3); *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3498, 38-40

149. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Γερμ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. Καρπ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 3 (3)

150. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάσης οἰκουμένης δεσπότης Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 591/*IGBulg* 734

VI. Greek Titles, Group B

151. Αὐτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Ανικ. Σεβ. ἀρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. δῆμ. εξ. Αὐτ. π. π. υπ.
Inscriptions: Cyprus -- *CIL* III 219/*IGRR* III 968

VII. Aurelian and Vaballatibus, Latin Titles, Group A

152. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. Vab. VCRIMDR*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *R/C* V.1 381; *HCC* IV p. 142³¹

³¹The legend should probably be read as, *V(ir) C(ontul)arivs* *R(ex) IM(perator) D(ux) R(omanorum)*. On this, U. Wilcken, *ZfN* 15 (1887) 330-2 and Webb, *R/C* V.1 p. 260. Gallazi, *NAC* 4 (1975) 257 argues, however, that *V(ir) C(ontul)arivs* is here to be understood.

VIII. Aurelian and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group A

153. Αυρ. καὶ Αθην.

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 103; *KAK* 3057

154. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαφ. Αθην.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)

155. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. καὶ βασιλεὺς Αθην. Σεββ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 2 (1)³²

156. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαφ. Αθην. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)

157. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαφ. Αθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3367 ii, 5-6/P. *Coll. Youtie* 69, 5-6³³

158. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. Σεβ. καὶ ὁ κυρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 4 (1)

IX. Aurelian and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group B

159. Αυρ. Ιουλ. Αυρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην. υπ. Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, pp. 103-4

³²P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 137-8 suggests that the writer of *O. Mich.* III 1006 meant Β(ασιλέως) rather than Β(ασιλίως).

³³The first part of this formula is restored (col. ii, l. 5), [τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αύρηλιου Σεβαστοῦ κο...]

160. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Σεβ. Ιουλ. Αυρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην. υπ. Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3053-6, 3058-63

161. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Ιουλ. Αυρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς υπ. Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 1 (3);³⁴ *P. Oxy.* XL 2898, 23-8; 2904, 15-23; 2906 i, 21-6; 2908 ii, 20-5; 2908 iii, 29-33; 2916, 12-3; 2921, 6-11; 2922, 1-5; 2936, 25-8; *XLVI* 3294, 14-9;³⁵ *XLVII* 3367 i, 14-6; 3367 ii, 14-5/P. *Coll. Youtie* 69, 14-5

162. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Σεβ. καὶ ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Σεπτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς υπ. Αυτ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 5 (1)

X. Aurelian, Zenobia and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group B

163. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. αρχ. μεγ. υπ. ανθυπ. π. π. Ανεικ. Σεβ. καὶ Σεπτ. Ζηνοφ.

Σεβ. μήτρη τοῦ δεσπότου ἀηττήσου ἡμῶν Αυτ. Οὐαφ. Αθην.

Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIG* 4503b/*IGRR* III 1027 (= 1065)/*OGIS* 647³⁶

³⁴See Sijpesteijn 1982, 193-4 on the reading of these papyri.

³⁵This papyrus breaks after (l. 19), [Αθηνανδρου τοῦ λίσι(προτάτου)].

³⁶This inscription is restored in *CIG* and *IGRR* with Claudius II as the emperor. This seems unlikely. As can be seen above, we have coins and papyri that associate Vaballathus and Aurelian. There is no such evidence for Claudius and the Palmyrene usurpers being thus associated. I have therefore chosen to restore Aurelian's name to this stone. [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι / Λ(αζαρί) Δομ(ατίρ) Αύρηλιον / ἀρχιερεῖ μεγιστῇρ [ύπ(άτρ) / ἀθυπάτῃρ πατρί πατρίδος] / Αυευθίηρ Σεβαστῷ / καὶ Σεπτιμίῳ Ζηνοφίῳ...

Domitianus
(ca. 271 ?)

L Literary Testimonia

Zos. 1.49.2 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔλθεν νεωτερισμοῦ Σεπτίμιος τε καὶ Οὐρβανὸς καὶ Δομιτιανὸς...

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Domitianus Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Gaul (?) – *RIC* V.2 p. 590

Zenobia and Vaballathus
(Winter 271 - Summer 272)

Sept(imia) Zenob(ia)
L(ucius) Iul(ius) Aur(elius) Sept(imius) Vab(allathus) Athen(odorus)

L Literary Testimonia

HA trig. tyr. 30.2 ...post Odenatum maritum *imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu*
<Di>donis ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius,
quam feminineus sexus patiebatur, imperavit.

HA Aurelian. 38.1 *hoc quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror Vabalati filii nomine*
Zenobia <m>, non Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse quod tenuit.

II. Zenobia, Latin Titles, Group A¹

1. *Zenob. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) – *RIC* V.2 p. 584

¹For the Palmyrene inscriptions, J.B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris 1922) 56-8. I do not list these here. See also above under Aurelian.

III. Zenobia, Greek Titles, Group A

2. Σεπτ. Ζηνοβ. ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ευσ. βασιλισσα ἡ δέσποινα
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1030/*ILS* 8807/*OGIS* 648
3. Σεπτ. Ζηνοβ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 104; *KAK* 3065

IV. Vaballathus, Latin Titles, Group A

4. *Imp. Caes. Vab. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 585
5. *Imp. Caes. L. Iul. Aur. Sept. Vab. Athen. Pers. max. Arab. max. Adiaben. max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1904) 60/*ILS* 8924

V. Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group A

6. Αυτ. Κατσ. Ουαβ. Αθην. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 104; *KAK* 3064

VI. Vaballathus and Zenobia, Greek Titles, Group A

7. βασιλισσα καὶ βασιλεὺς
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *EE* iv 33/*CIL* III 6583/*IGRR* I 1315²
8. Σεπτ. Ζην. ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασιλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Αθην.
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1028/*OGIS* 649

VII. Zenobia and Antiochus³

9. Ζηνοβ. βασιλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Ἀντιοχου
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1029
10. Σεπτ. Σηνοβ. ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασιλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Αθην.
Inscriptions: Syria -- *OGIS* 650

²Mommsen (*CIL* ad loc.) says that the queen and king here are "sine dubio" Zenobia and Vaballathus, which opinion is accepted by Cagnat (*IGRR* ad loc.).

³For the revolt of Antiochus (after the defeat of Zenobia apparently) see Zos. 1.60.61 ff., *HA Aurelian.* 31, Pol. Silv. (ed. Mommsen) p. 521. Also *PIR*² A 745. Dittenberger (ad *OGIS* 650) may well be right in suggesting that Antiochus falsely claimed Zenobia as mother. See also *OGIS* 651.

Tacitus
(mid-September/early December 275 - ca. June 276)

M(arcus) Cl(audius) Tacitus

L Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 36.1 Igitur tandem senatus mense circiter post Aurelianii interium sexto Tacitum e consularibus, mitem sane virum, imperatorem crebat, cunctis fere laetioribus, quod militari ferocia legendi ius principis proceres receperissent.

HA Aurelian. 41.4 ...Aurelius Tacitus, primae sententiae senator, ita loquutus est (hic autem est qui post Aurelianum sententia omnium imperator est appellatus)...¹

idem 41.14 probata sententia est Taciti. attamen cum iterum atque iterum mitteretur, ex senatus consulta, quod in Taciti vita dicemus, Tacitus factus est imperator.

Zonaras 12.28 τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε καὶ ἀπόντα ἐν Καμπανίᾳ γὰρ τότε διέτριβεν. ἔνθα δεδεγμένος τὸ ψήφισμα, εἰς Ἀράμην εἰσῆλασε μετά σχήματος Ἰδιωτικοῦ, καὶ γυνώμῃ τῆς συγκλήτου τε καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν στολὴν περιεβάλετο τὴν βασιλείου.

II Latin Titles, Group A

1. *M. Cl. Tac. Pi Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 85
2. *M. Cl. Tac. Pi Fel Aug. conservator militum*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 17
3. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug.*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 5 ff.; *HCC* IV 21-2, 25-9
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 100
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 137, 157-8
4. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 55
5. *Imp. Tac. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 203
6. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 15, 31, 40
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 76
7. *fortissimus Imp. et pacator orbis M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10072; *EE* vii 590/*CIL* VIII 22083/*ILS* 589; *EE* vii 615/*CIL* VIII 22106;² *EE* vii 619/*CIL* VIII 22122
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1942-43) 73³

¹*CIL* VIII 22083 and 22106 give (mistakenly I believe) *pacator urbis*. The emendation to the proper reading is mine.

²*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Claudio Tacito / ... / ...pio... / ...mp... / maximo... / ...a/-*. Due to the lack of other Mauretanian inscriptions for Tacitus, I can see no way of restoring this one properly. Thus I have left it.

³The parenthetical remark looks very much like a gloss that has slipped into the text.

9. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2021 (=2173)
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 96
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 212
10. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Aug.*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 4 ff.; *HCC* IV 35-8
11. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug.*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 3 ff.; *HCC* IV 33-4
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 71 ff.; *HCC* IV 3-17; *Gnechi* II p. 114, 3 ff.; III p. 66, 13 ff.
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 112 ff.; *HCC* IV 43-6, 48-61
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 175 ff.
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 190 ff.
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *HCC* IV 68
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 210-1; *HCC* IV 69-71
Siscia/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. conservator militum*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 133-4; *HCC* IV 47
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 193; *HCC* IV 67
13. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 197, 202
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. conservator militum*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 194
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 74; *Gnechi* I p. 9, 1
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 111 ff.; *HCC* IV 39-42
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 174, 176, 180, 185, 186, 188; *HCC* IV 64-5

16. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug. conservator militum*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 192
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 119
18. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2328⁴
19. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 52 no. 7
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22474, 22509; *Marcillet-Jaubert* 1979, 67-9
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 18-20, 23-4, 30-2
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 72-3, 99, 104-6, 109; *Gnechi* II p. 114, 1 ff.; III p. 66, 12 ff.
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 171, 173
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 177
20. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. conservator militum*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 16
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 191
21. *clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9002/XVII 390⁵
22. *fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22093⁶

⁴The inscription breaks after, *Felici Aug(usto)*.

⁵The stone breaks after, *Pio Fel(ici) [Aug(usto)]* —

⁶*For[issimo] / Imp(eratori) Ca[esar]i M(arco) Cl(audio) Tac[i] / to [Pio Felici Aug(usto)]* —

23. *pacatissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1086/vii 612; *EE* vii 613/*CIL VIII* 10089 (=22177)/*ILS* 590

24. *invictissimus et piissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 629/*CIL VIII* 22137

25. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 196

26. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* iii 117/*ILS* 588/*RIB* 2262
Aquitania -- *CIL XIII* 8923/*XVII* 488
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1974) 529
Dalmatia -- *CIL III* 13313
Moesia Inf. -- *CIL III* 14207.36/*IGRR I* 1442/*IGBulg* 252b⁷
Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 51-2 no. 6
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 200

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL III* 3204

III. Latin Titles, Group B

28. *Tac. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL XIII* 6733

29. *M. Cl. Tac. cos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 843

⁷I have restored *Augustus* to this inscription.

30. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *AE* (1961) 250, (1965) 107

31. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 70; *HCC* IV 1

32. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *FC* 102

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL XIII* 9076/*RSS* 45/*CIL XVII* 594

34. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL II* 4830

35. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1902) 150/*CIL VIII* 25836/*ILS* 8926/*CILB* 3898

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL XIII* 8950/*XVII* 386⁹

37. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL III* 11328¹⁰

38. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL II* 4959 (=6197)

39. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 231 no. 8

⁸The inscription is damaged after *pontificis maximi*, and thus the rest of the titulature is lost.

⁹{*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Claudio Tac(i) / to / P(ia) / F(elici) Aug(usto) / p(ontifici) m(aximo) p(atri) / p(atriae) / tr(iburicia) / po(testate) --.*

¹⁰The inscription breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4638¹¹

41. *clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9001/XVII 389

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

42. *Imp. Caes. Cl Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 6058

43. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 666a¹²

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1926) 137/*IRT* 926

45. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4879//*IRR* 59/König 1981, 69/*ERR* 7413

46. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4635/*IRCP* 665

47. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4636/*IRCP* 666

¹¹Rather than AVG, this inscription has VC. It is, of course, possible that *v(ir) c(onsul)arissimus* is intended; however, it seems more likely that there has been a mistake, either in the cutting or the reading of the stone. Therefore, I print *Aug.*

¹²The iteration is almost certainly intended as referring to the tribunician power. See *IRCP* ad loc.

¹³It is not clear whether this stone belongs to Claudius II or to Tacitus. See above Claudius 42.

48. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22450¹⁴

49. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II*
Inscriptions: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 1

50. *clementissimus Imp. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *AE* (1968) 309/*CIL* XVII 481

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8928/XVII 433

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22430

53. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1924) 70/*FiE* III, 110-1 no. 20//*IK* 17,1 3020

54. *verae libertatis auctor Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot.*
II cos. II p. p. procos.
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5563/*ILS* 591/*CIL* XVII 174

55. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 120

56. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 121

¹⁴The stone does not properly have *pont. max.* It reads (lines 3-4), ...*P. F. Aug. / ma. trib. p...*

V. Greek Titles, Group A

57. Τακ.
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *SEG* 34 (1984) 1306

58. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Κλ. Τακ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 4 (2)

59. Τακ. Σεβ.
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 8530¹⁵

60. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τακ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 3 (1)

61. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Κλ. Τακ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 5 (2)

62. Κλ. Κατσ. ὁ κυρ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (1)

63. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Τακ. Σεβ.
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLII 3116, 9-10

64. Αυτ. Κατσ. Κλ. Τακ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 107; *KAK* 3110-20

65. Αυτ. Κατσ. Μ. Κλ. Τακ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 7190/*IGRR* IV 1163, 1165
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4759, 8530¹⁶
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 2 (3)

Florianus
(ca. June - August 276)*M(arcus) Ann(ius) Flor(ianus)*

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 36.2 ...*Florianus...nullo senatus seu milium consulta imperium invaserat.*

HA Tac. 14.1 *Hic frater Taciti[s] germanu<s> filii, qui post fratrem arripuit imperium, non senatus auctoritate sed suo motu, quasi hereditarium esse<t> imperium, cum sciret adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori c<o> episset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem principem faceret.*

Zonaras 12.29 *Kai τούτου σφαγέντος δύο κατὰ τάυτὸν ἀνερρήθησαν βασιλεῖς, Πρόβος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐώφ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐν δὲ Ἀρύμη παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου Φλωριανός.*

Zosimus 1.64.1 *Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἐμφύλιον κατέστη τὰ πράγματα ταραχήν, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐφαν βασιλέα Πρόβον ἐλομένων, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀρύμην Φλωριανόν.*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 20, 23, 49; *HCC* IV 1

2. *Imp. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 116-7
Cyzicus/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 20

¹⁵This is the reverse legend of the coin. For the obverse, see below 65.

¹⁶This is the obverse legend of the coin. For the reverse, see above 59.

3. *Imp. Ann. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 63, 70, 88
4. *Imp. M. Ann. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 59 ff.; *HCC* IV 18
5. *Imp. Ann. Flor. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 80
6. *Imp. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 91
7. *Imp. Caes. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 18 ff.; *HCC* IV 2-8
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 97, 109
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 115
8. *Imp. Caes. Ann. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 67, 71, 78, 85, 89
9. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 19 ff.; *Gnechi* II p. 115, 1-2
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 58 ff.
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 106-8
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 111-2; *HCC* IV 21
Gaul (?) -- *HCC* IV 12
Cyzicus/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 19
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 79, 81

11. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 115, 3
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 57 ff.; *HCC* IV 13-7
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 98 ff.
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 110
12. *Imp. Caes. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 28
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2275, 2280
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10061 (= 14019)/*Degrassi* 1942, 194-5 no. 5/*ILJug* I 267
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.
Gaul -- *HCC* IV 9-11
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor saeculi*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 115, 4
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix p. 634/*CIL* VII 1156/*ILS* 592/*RIB* 2235

III. Latin Titles, Group B

16. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Achaea ? -- *JG* V,2 p. 5, 132/*SEG* 35 (1985) 375
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 15086
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 9155/*RSK* 185/*CIL* XVII 580
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 495

19. *d. orbis et pacis Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania – *CIL XIII* 8895/*XVII* 369

20. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica – *CIL II* 1115/*ILS* 593

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. fortissimus atque indulgentissimus princ. restitutor orbis trib. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1960) 104

V. Greek Titles, Group A

22. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυγ. Φλωρ. Σεβ.*
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG V,1* 449

Probus

(ca. June 276 - September/9 December 282)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Prob(us)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 37.1-2 Qui uno mense aut altero vix retentata dominatione apud Tarsum ab suis interficitur, postquam Probum in Illyrico factum accepere...

HA Tac. 14.2-4 denique vix duobus mensibus imperium tenuit (Tacitus) et occisus est Tarsi a militibus, qui Probum audierant imperare, quem omnis exercitus legerat; tantus autem Probus fuit in[te] re militari, ut illum senatus optaret, miles eligeret, ipse p. R. adclamationibus peteret.

HA Prob. 10.1 Cum igitur his tot tantis virtutibus eniteret, Tacito absumpto fataliter ac Floriano imperium aripiente omnis orientalis exercitus eundem imperatorem fecerunt.

idem 12.8 "...decimo igitur, p. c., votis omnium concinentibus nomen imperatorium, nomen Caesareanum, nomen Augustum, addo proconsulare imperium, patris patriae reverentiam, pontificatum maximum, ius teriae relationis, tribuniciam potestatem."

Zosimus (vid. sup., Florianus)

Zonaras (vid. sup., Florianus)

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Prob.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- Barbieri 1964, 41

2. *Prob. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 18 ff.Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 147 ff.; *HCC* IV 6-9, 71; *Gnechii* II p. 117, 15
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 308 ff.; *HCC* IV 114-25, 140-1, 144, 146-51,
155, 158-70, 174Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 620 ff.; *HCC* IV 246Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 837, 872, 879Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 899, 904; *HCC* IV 311-23. *Aur. Prob. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 2674. *Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 405-65. *fortissimus ac piissimus d. n. Prob. Aug.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26560/*ILS* 89276. *Prob. Inv. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 353, 368, 377, 389, 431, 438 ff.; *HCC* IV 1137. *deus et d. Prob. Inv. Aug.*Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 8858. *Prob. Pi. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 148, 188, 265-6, 278, 285; *HCC* IV 709. *Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechii* II p. 118, 3010. *Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 158 ff.; *HCC* IV 44, 55-66, 74
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 630, 637, 64011. *bonus et Inv. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *HCC* IV 29412. *M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1109/*RIB* 2300
Asia -- *MAMA* I 18 bis13. *Imp. Prob. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 67, 94, 109; *Gnechii* I p. 9, 1; II p.
115, 1 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 134 ff.; *HCC* IV 3, 15-32, 40-3, 53-4, 69
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 574
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 580, 597, 628, 690, 815; *HCC* IV 229
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 895, 89714. *Imp. Prob. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 89215. *Imp. Prob. Aug. victoriosus semper*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* IV 3916. *Imp. deus et d. Prob. Aug.*Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 84117. *perpetuus Imp. Prob. Aug.*Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 87418. *Imp. Prob. Inv. Aug.*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 324
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 622-3, 657, 679, 684, 686 ff.; *HCC* IV
286-9

19. *Imp. Prob. Inv. Aug. restitutor Illyrici*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 730
20. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 144, 256, 277; *Gnechi* II p. 116, 3 ff.
21. *Imp. M. Aur. Prob. Pl. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 883
22. *perpetuus Imp. Prob. Pl. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 843
23. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 33, 43, 61, 72, 113; *Gnechi* II p. 116, 4 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 133 ff.; *HCC* IV 33, 35-8, 46-52
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 334, 382, 423
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 584 ff.; *HCC* IV 227-8, 250-60
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 866
24. *Imp. M. Aur. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 808
25. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 136
26. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 734
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 852
27. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. victoriosus semper*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 143, 224

28. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 34, 66, 108, 130
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 156 ff.; *HCC* IV 34, 45; *Gnechi* III p. 67, 48
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 335 ff.; *HCC* IV 145, 156-7, 177-81
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 627 ff.; *HCC* IV 249
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 846
29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1921) 23/*ILAT* 610/*ILM* 47/*IAM* II 361
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 3 ff.; *HCC* IV 75-80, 92
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 140 ff.; *HCC* IV 5; *Gnechi* I p. 10, 5; III p. 67, 46
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 307 ff.; *HCC* IV 100-1, 103-10, 112, 139, 172-3
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 582 ff.; *HCC* IV 185-7, 211-4, 243-5, 275-84
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 827 ff.; *HCC* IV 292-3, 296-8, 303-4, 308-9
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 890 ff.; *HCC* IV 324-5
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 915-9, 921, 923; *HCC* IV 340-3
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 928; *HCC* IV 349-51
30. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 853
31. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 253
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 310
32. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 318
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 732
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 856
34. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 401-4; *HCC* IV 111

35. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor urbis*
Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 926¹

36. *bonus Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 850

37. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 842, 869, 884

38. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 849

39. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 596, 759; *Gnechhi* I p. 10, 3; II p. 119, 40; III p. 68, 54
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 823, 825, 848

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Prob. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 678, 683; *HCC* IV 285

41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 882

42. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 859

43. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 538; *HCC* IV 143
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 648, 662

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 62, 92; *Gnechhi* I p. 10, 4; II p. 116, 7 ff.; III p. 67, 51 ff.
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 135, 167, 197, 239, 294, 301; *HCC* IV 2, 72-3
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 309, 338, 346, 390, 440, 455
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 585, 587, 595, 621, 629 ff.; *HCC* IV 203-8, 239-42
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 833, 839, 860, 864-5, 873, 876, 880, 888; *HCC* IV 302, 307
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 924

45. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 735
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 855

46. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *HCC* IV 268
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 854, 857

47. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 847

48. *Imp. Caes. M. Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 677

49. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Inv. Aug. n.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1920) 44/*ILAT* 609/*ILM* 46/*IAM* II 360²

¹The title intended for the reverse legend here may have been *restitutor orbis*.

²See also 62 below. And for the proper reading of the stone, G. Di Vita-Evrard, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 195.

50. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 7 ff.; *HCC* IV 82-91, 93-6
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 163, 192, 198, 212, 233, 263, 273, 281, 289, 291;
HCC IV 68; *Gnechii* II p. 118, 26-7
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 321 ff.; *HCC* IV 126-37, 142, 152-4, 175-6
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 583 ff.; *HCC* IV 215-26, 247-8
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 832, 863

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *JG* V.2 p. 5, 135
 Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184.35
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1329,³ 10068, 14891 (= 1353, cf. *EE* v 538); *AE* (1892) 18/ *CIL* VIII 23400
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 81
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 137, 160, 182, 190, 204, 210, 226, 234, 271, 299;
HCC IV 1, 10-4; *Gnechii* I p. 9, 2, p. 10, 6-8
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 306 ff.; *HCC* IV 102, 138, 171
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 581 ff.; *HCC* IV 183-4, 188-202, 230-8, 272-4
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 826, 836, 844, 861, 870-1, 875, 877, 886;
HCC IV 295, 299-301, 305-6
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 900-1, 903, 906-7, 911-3; *HCC* IV 310, 313-23,
 326
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 920, 922; *HCC* IV 327-31, 344-7
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 927; *HCC* IV 348, 352-6

52. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 591

53. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 733; *HCC* IV 262-7, 269
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 851

³The stone reads in *CIL* (line 2), [pro salute Imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) M(arci) Aurelii Probi Pi[us] Inv[icti] Aug[usti]. It seems to me, however, that *Felix* is a more likely restoration than *Invictus*.

54. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor exerciti*

Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 909

55. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 731, 736; *HCC* IV 261, 270-1, 290-1
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 910
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 925; *HCC* IV 332-9

56. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor saeculi*

Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 400

56a. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) ? -- *Gnechii* II p. 119, 32-3

57. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2071/ *ILPG* 33, 34
 Italy -- *CIL* XI 4354
 Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 6433
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10281
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 840, 867, 881

58. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 858

59. *bonus Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 868

60. *Imp. clementissimus Pi. Fel. princ. fortissimus nob. Caes. venus Goth. venusque Germ. M. Aur. Prob. semper Inv.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1923) 102/ *ILER* 1204/ *FLEL* 100/ *IRPL* 694

⁴[Imperatori cle]men[tissimo / Pio Felici] principi [forti]x[imo] nobilissimo Caesa[ri] / ve[r]o Gothico veroque
 Ger/[manic]o M(arco) Aur[elia] Probo semper Invicto. This is the reading of Rabanal Alonso (*FLEL* ad loc.),
 and seems the most likely.

III. Latin Titles, Group B

61. *Prob. cos.*
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* I 10

62. *d. n. Prob. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1920) 44/*ILAT* 609/*ILM* 46/*LAM* II 360⁵

63. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 244; *Gnechi* III p. 71, 92
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 608

64. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. imp.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* viii 232/*CIL* II 4822⁶

65. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 320

66. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1

67. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 607

68. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Marcellat-Jaubert* 1980, 175 no. 25

69. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 609

⁵See also 49 above.

⁶Of this inscription Hübner says (*CIL* ad loc.), *Vix putaverim Probi fuisse, sed potius Carini, ut n. 4829*. Though impossible to say with certainty, the first inclination seems the more likely still.

70. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 591/*CIL* VIII 22084⁷

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4881/*IRR* 1/*ERR* 75

72. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 610

73. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 132
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 606

74. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Goth. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1178b/*ILS* 594

75. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1932) 83/*RT* 88
Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 618/*ILM* 80/*LAM* II 410

76. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22308⁸

77. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. cos. d. n.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2329

78. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22317

⁷This stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

⁸[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) A/[urelia] Probo / [Invic]to Pio po/[nt(ifici) ma]ximjo [...] / [...]axim[...]*

79. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- IRCP 668⁹

80. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4507/IRB 26¹⁰

81. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 22440, 22510, 22512

82. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 1116

83. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- AE (1971) 203/IRMN 11

84. *conservator dignitatis et libertatis Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 2656111

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

85. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Prob. Aug. Adiab. p. p. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 2195012

⁹The stone breaks after, *IA]u[g(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) /*...

¹⁰The emperor's name has been erased from this stone, and the first remaining word of the text is *Invicto*. But as Hübaer noted (CIL ad loc.), *Fuit fortasse Cari Prohve, certe unius allius imperatorum saeculi tertii exequuntis, cuius memoria damnata erat.*

¹¹The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

¹²The stone, as published, reads, *Imp. Cesarem / Aurelio Pro/bo Aug. IIIM (?) / Addia[...]b[...]nico p. p. bis / procos.*

86. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- CIL III 8707

87. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III*
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 10085 (=22074)/CILB 532¹³

88. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- EE vii 693/CIL VIII 11172/ILS 595/CILB 74

89. *Imp. Prob. iterum cos.*
Inscriptions: Britaln -- EE ix p. 612/CIL VII 1021/RIB 1255

89a. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) ? -- Gnechhi III p. 67, 49

90. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- RIC V.2 337 ff.; HCC IV 97

91. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 245

92. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.2 612; HCC IV 209-10

93. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 246

94. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.2 613

94a. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Prob. cos. II*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) ? -- Gnechhi III p. 67, 50

¹³The stone breaks after the tribunician iteration.

95. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 611

96. *Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 579; *HCC* IV 182
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 835

97. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 394 ff.

98. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 441, 460, 483; *HCC* IV 98-9

99. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 570

100. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 247
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 614

101. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 616

102. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 615

103. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. III*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1181/*CIL* VIII 11931

104. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. III cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5437/König 1970, 14/*CIL* XVII 14

105. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1977) 787, 788; French 1981, 153-5 no. 6 (4 stones)¹⁴

106. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV (?) cos. III (?) p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5467/König 1970, 43/*CIL* XVII 43¹⁵

107. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5472/König 1970, 47/*CIL* XVII 47¹⁶

108. *princ. venus Goth. verusque Germ. ac victoriarum omnium nominibus inlustris M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V p. p. cos. III procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3738/*ILS* 597/*IRV* 18

108a. *Inv. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechii* II p. 116, 12

109. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. IV*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 3728

109a. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechii* II p. 119, 35-6

¹⁴Two of the stones published by French are the *AE* stones listed here. Thus, there are altogether four stones from this area with this titular formula.

¹⁵*Imp(eratori) / Cae{s(ari)} / M(arco) Aur(elio) P(robo) / Invic(to) A{ug(usto)} / p(ontifici) m(aximo) Go/(hico) m(aximo) / [G]er(manicu) m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) IIII ? co(n)s(uli) III ? p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli)).* It should be noted that Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) attempts no restoration beyond *Germanicus maximus*.

¹⁶*fl/imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) P(robo) / P(io) F(elici) Invicto A{ug(usto)} p(ontifici) m(aximo) [G]ot(hico) m(aximo) / Ge]r(manicu) m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) IIII co(n)s(uli) III / p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli).*

110. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. IV*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 485 ff.111. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 248112. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 914113. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p.*Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 1673/*ILS* 596¹⁷

114. *restitutor provinciarum et operum publicorum providentissimus ac super omnes retro principes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p. procos.*

Inscriptions: Raetia -- Wagner 1956/57, 30

114a. *Inv. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos. V*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *Gnechi* I p. 56, 1; II p. 117, 13114b. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. V*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 24095/*ILS* 5361/*CILB* 418115. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. V*Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 486, 496, 530116. *Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 251; *Gnechi* III p. 71, 93117. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 250118. *Imp. Prob. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 249, 260; *HCC* IV 67

¹⁷Dessau prints *tr. pot. III* rather than *VI*. I take the original reading to be correct.

V. Greek Titles, Group A

119. Προβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 1 (3);¹⁸ *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2557, 2; *P. Coll. Youtie* 73, 8

120. Προβ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *P. Coll. Youtie* 71, 20; 72, 5; *P. Oxy.* LI 3613, 26

121. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 3 (2)

122. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Προβ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 10 (14); *P. Mich.* XI 610, 10-1; *P. Coll. Youtie* 71, 37; 72, 16

123. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 1 (1)

124. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIG* 4592/*IGRR* III 1186/*SGLI* 765 (12)Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 2 (11); *P. Oxy.* L 3569, 9-10 & 15-6

125. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Καισ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 12-4

126. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 3 (1)

127. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1922) 133/*SEG* 7 (1934) 951

¹⁸*P. Oxy.* XIV 1649 and *SB* VI 9113 should be added to this formula. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 194-5.

128. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ.

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1974) 604¹⁹

129. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1907) 55/*MAMA* VIII 212Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3121-58

130. ὁ λερότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.

Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 227/*SEG* 3 (1929) 332/*SEG* 13 (1956) 335

131. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Εὐσ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 4 (1)

132. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 4 (1); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 29-32

133. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. μεγ.

Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *IGRR* III 124

134. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γερμ. μεγ. Μηδ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 9 (1)²⁰

135. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γωθ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, nos. 6 & 7 (2);²¹ *P. Amh.* II 106

136. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γωθ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 8 (8); *P. Oxy.* X 1256; *P. Lond.* III 1243; *P. Mich.* XI 610, 42-6; *P. Oxy. Hels.* 42, 12-7

137. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Περσ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 5 (2)¹⁹The inscription breaks after Πρόθη.²⁰*P. Amh.* II 106 does not belong with this formula (as in *Bureth*). It belongs with 135. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 109.²¹*P. Oxy.* X 1256 and *P. Lond.* III 1243, both listed by *Bureth* with this formula, really belong with 136. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 109-10. On the readings of *P. Amh.* II 106, *P. Fouad. I Univ.* 22 and *P. Lond.* III 1243, see now W.H.M. Liesker & P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 289.

Julius Saturninus
(ca. 280/281)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes. et Eutrop.* -- vid. inf. Bonosus

HA trig. tyr. 23.3 *hic ea die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio...*

HA quatt. tyr. 6.5 *...Saturninum, qui contra Probum imperium sibimet in orientis partibus vindicavit.*

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.24.3 *bella deinde civilia...unum in Oriente, quo Saturninum tyrannide subnixum oppressit et cepit, aliud, quo Proculum et Bonosum apud Agrippinam magnis proeliis superatos interfecit.*

Sync. Chron. (Bonn) p. 723 *...Σατορνίνος στρατοπεδάρχης...έπαναστάς τῇ Ρωμαίων δρχῇ...*

Zonaras 12.29 *Σατορνίνου δὲ Μαυρουσίου τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσαντος...*

Zosimus 1.66.1 *...Σατορνίνος γένει Μαυρούσιος...τῆς βασιλέως ἀποστάς πίστεως εἰς ἐπαναστάσεως ἔννοιαν ἔλθεν.*

II. Latin Titles

1. *Imp. Caes. Iul. Sat. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 591¹

¹For the attribution of Saturninus' coinage to Alexandria, see Vitucci 1952, 59-60. More probable is Antioch, on which, P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Wetteren 1988) 59 n. 8.

Bonosus
(ca. 280/281)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 37.3 *...simul caesis Saturnino per Orientem, Agrippinae Bonoso exercitu; nam utique dominatum tentaverant sumpta, cui duces praeerant, manu.*

Epit. de Caes. 37.2 *Iste Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae imperatores effectos oppressit.*

Eutrop. 9.17.1 *quosdam imperium usurpare conatos, scilicet Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae, certaminibus oppressit.*

HA quatt. tyr. 15.1-2 *Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Reno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore ne poenas daret, sumpsit imperium idque diutius tenuit quam merebatur.*

II. Latin Titles²

1. *Bonosus*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 592
2. *M. C. Bonosus VA*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 592
3. *pont. max. Bonosus Aug.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 592

²These coins are suspect. Cf. Barnes 1972, 151 n. 42.

Carus, Carinus and Numerianus
(September/9 December 282 - spring 285)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Car(us)
M(arcus) Aur(elius) Carin(us)
M(arcus) Aur(elius) Num(erianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 38.1 Igitur Carus praefectura pollens praetorii augusto habitu induitur, liberis Caesaribus Carino Numerianoque.

Epit. de Caes. 38.1-2 Carus, Narbonae natus, imperavit annos duos. Iste confestim Carinum et Numerianum Caesares fecit.

Eutrop. 9.18.1 Post hunc Carus est factus Augustus, Narbone natus in Gallia. Is confestim Carinum et Numerianum filios Caesares fecit.

HA Car. 7.1 ...ubi primum accepit imperium, consensu omnium militum...liberis Caesaribus nuncupatis...

idem 8.1 ...Mesopotamia <m> Carus cepit et <C>tesifontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione Imperatoris Persi <ci> nomen emeruit.

idem 16.2 hic (Carinus) cum Caesar decretis sibi Galliis atque Italia[e], Illyrico, Hispani <i>s ac Britanni <i>s et Africa relicta a patre Caesareanum teneret imperium, sed ea lege, ut omnia faceret, quae Augusti faciunt, in oribus se vitilis et ingenti foeditate maculavit...

Zonaras 12.29-30 μέρους γάρ της Εύρωπης ὁ Κῆρος ἄρχων ἔγνω τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας βουλευομένους δινειπεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα...περιστάντες οὖν οἱ στρατιώται τὸν Κῆρον καὶ ἀκοντα καταδέξασθαι τὴν τῶν Πωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐβίβαντο...

idem 12.30 Κῆρος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ἐγκρατῆς τοὺς οἰκείους οὐλοὺς Καρίνου καὶ Νομηρειανὸν ἐταινίωσε βασιλικῷ διαδήματι

Zosimus 1.71.4 ...τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλισι καὶ Ναρικῷ δυνάμεων Κάρφ περιθέντων τὴν ἀλουργία.

II. Carus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Car. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *R/IC* V.2 14, 19, 25
2. *deus et d. Car. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *R/IC* V.2 96, 99
3. *deus et d. Car. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *R/IC* V.2 100
4. *divus Car.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *R/IC* V.2 28
Italy (Rome) -- *R/IC* V.2 47, 49; *HCC* IV p. 207
5. *divus Car. Parth.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *R/IC* V.2 30
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *R/IC* V.2 108-13; *HCC* IV p. 208
6. *divus Car. Pers.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *R/IC* V.2 48, 50
7. *divus Car. Pi.*
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *R/IC* V.2 4, 29; *HCC* IV p. 207-8
8. *divus Car. Aug.*
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *R/IC* V.2 126
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *R/IC* V.2 129

9. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 415

10. *Imp. Car. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 58; *Gnechhi* III p. 74, 12

11. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 52

12. *Imp. Car. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 57; *Gnechhi* III p. 74, 13

13. *Imp. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1; *Gnechhi* III p. 73, 6
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 36 ff.; *HCC* IV 4-5
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 69 ff.; *HCC* IV 12-7
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 93

14. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 64, 71; *Gnechhi* II p. 120, 1-2

15. *Imp. Caes. Car. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 54; *Gnechhi* III p. 74, 9

16. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 8ff.; *HCC* IV 7-10; *Gnechhi* II p. 120, 4; III p. 73, 7
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 51, 60
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 86
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 104
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 114

17. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. victor Car.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *RIC* V.2 131

18. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: uncertain -- *RIC* V.2 130

19. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 107

20. *Imp. Caes. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 68, 70, 74, 83, 87, 90

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2281
Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* IX, 1 41b/*Pais* 1309
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 6; *Gnechhi* II p. 122, 1
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 31 ff.; *HCC* IV 1-3
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 62 ff.; *HCC* IV 11
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 92 ff.; *HCC* IV 18-20
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 115-6, 118-21; *HCC* IV 22-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 122-5; *HCC* IV 24-6
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 128

22. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 61; *Gnechhi* III p. 73, 8

23. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 106; *HCC* IV 21

24. *magnus et fortissimus princ. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6501¹

¹The stone breaks after *Augustus*.

25. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1182a/*RIB* 2282²
Hispania -- *CIL* II 4786³
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1626 (cf. 15829)/*ILS* 3798⁴
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10956 (=22168)/*ILAlg* I 39445

26. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 117

III. Carus, Latin Titles, Group B

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* IV 40

27a. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) ? -- *Gnechli* II p. 120, 5

28. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 1207/*IRB* 276

²...-]Cara / Pio Fel(ic) / <E> / Inv(icto) Aug(usto). I restore the first part on the basis of *RIB* 2281 (21 above).

³The second line of the stone reads, {M(arcus)} Aur(elius) Ca[nus]. Thus, it might also be possible to restore Ca[erinus].

⁴Augustus must be restored to this stone.

⁵*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Aurelius / Carus Invictus / et Aug(ustus) et M(arcus) Au[re]lius... .* First of all, it is clear that the first *et* in line 4 is a mistake for *P(ius) F(elix)*. Gsell, *ILAlg* ad loc., restores the following, *et M(arcus) Aurelius Carinus et M(arcus) Aurelius Numerianus nobilissimi Caesares}*. I do not feel altogether confident of this restoration, nor am I confident that a proper restoration can be offered.

⁶I give the reading from *IRB*. *ILER* has essentially the same, except that it adds *pri(n)cipi nostro* at the end of the titulature.

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 968/*ILS* 6785; *ILAlg* I 871

30. *invictissimus Caes. piissimus princ. clementissimus Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pl. et Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4908/*EN* 56

31. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 606; *CIL* XIII 9093/XVII 6147
Noricum -- *CIL* III 5205

32. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 36/*EE* viii 776

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. procos. (?) pont. max. tr. pot. Aug. (?) p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4785⁸

34. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 1117
Hispania -- *CIL* II 4760
Numidia -- *AE* (1948) 117

35. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. Inv. et nob.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1923) 103/*Mayer Olivé* 1979, 412

⁷*[Imp(erator) C]aes(ar) M(arco) / [Aurelio] Caro / [P(ius) F(elici) Invicto Augusto] / [p(ontifici) m(axima) tri]b(unicia) p(otestate) p(atri) p(atriae) p[ro]foco(n)s(uli).* This is the restoration suggested by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), and is based on *CIL* XVII 606.

⁸*CIL* prints the following, *Imp. Caes. M. / Aur. Caro[...]/] Invicto [...]/ P.C.P.M.X.T.P. / [...]VG.P.P.XV.*

IV. Carus, Latin Titles, Group C

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1948) 163

37. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* viii 227/*CIL* II 3660/*CIB* 177

38. *fortissimus et clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4102/*ILS* 599/*RIT* 89

39. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10250

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- König 1970, 81/*CIL* XVII 81
Africa -- *IRT* 461

41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Pers. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 151/*CIL* VIII 12522/*ILS* 600⁹

V. Carus, Greek Titles, Group A

42. *Kap.*
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125 (1)

⁹The top of this stone is lost, and the first readable words are *Felici Invicto*. The first part of the titulature is Mommsen's restoration (*CIL* ad loc.).

43. Θεός Καρ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3164-8

44. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3159-63

45. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Σεβ. ὁ Αυτικ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 794

46. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll*³ 897/*CIG* 1714/*AE* (1950) 33a; *IG* V,1 1164

47. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 2240

VI. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group A

48. *M. Aur. Carin.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 170

49. *fortissimus et piissimus princ. M. Aur. Carin.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 1655

50. *Carin. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 172

51. *M. Aur. Carin. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 165-9; *Gnechi* III p. 75, 16 ff.

52. *M. Aur. Carin. Caes. princ. Iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 160

53. *Carin. nob. Caes.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 149, 152; *HCC* IV 13-5
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 171

54. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 984/*RIC* 98
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 153 ff.; *HCC* IV 3-4; *Gnechii* II p. 121, 6-7; III
 p. 74, 11
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 188 ff.
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 201-2

55. *Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 147, 150-1

56. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10219
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 158-9, 174, 176; *HCC* IV 5-12; *Gnechii* III p.
 74, 12
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 177-86; *HCC* IV 16-7
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 197-8
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 199

57. *d. n. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1951) 151/*ILTG* 463/König 1970, 269/*CIL* XVII
 309

58. *M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. nob. Caes.*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 193, 195

59. *Carin. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 241

60. *d. n. Carin. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1907) 245

61. *d. n. Carin. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3394/*LPG* 71
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2384/*ILS* 610

62. *d. n. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3469

63. *d. n. invictissimus M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1115

64. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*

Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 207; *HCC* IV 19-21

65. *Imp. Carin. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 221; *Gnechii* III p. 76, 1
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 240, 259, 265, 279, 282, 284
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 296

66. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 300, 306

67. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 211
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 228 ff.; *HCC* IV 22, 26-33
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 292 ff.; *HCC* IV 40-2
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 311
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 322

68. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechii* I p. 10, 1; III p. 74, 10 ff.

69. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 293, 299, 305
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 317, 324
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 328

70. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 302

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin.*
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 200

72. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 39
Dalmatia -- *ILJug* II 1034
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *HCC* IV 18
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 203-6, 208
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 209

73. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 212, 214, 216, 219, 223; *HCC* IV 34-9; *Gnechi* II p. 121, 3-5
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 231 ff.; *HCC* IV 25

74. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 245, 249

75. *Imp. Caes. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 307, 312, 313, 316
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 318, 320
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 326; *HCC* IV 45

76. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4829
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 225 ff.; *HCC* IV 23-4; *Gnechi* II p. 121, 1 ff.; III p. 74, 9 ff.
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 297
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 309-10, 314-5; *HCC* IV 43-4
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 319, 321, 323
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 325, 327; *HCC* IV 46-8
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 329

77. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 267

78. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6957d

VII. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group ■

79. *victoriosissimus princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4103/*RJT* 90

80. *d. n. invictissimus Aug. M. Aur. Carin. poni. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2717¹⁰

81. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 226

82. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3835/*ELST* 23

83. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. cos. et nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILT* 370

84. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4795

85. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. princ. F. C. (?) iuv. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4832

¹⁰ [Pro salute d(omi)ni n(ostr)ii invictissimi Aug(usti) / M(arci) Aureli] Carini po[n]tificis maximi / Germanici maxi/mi trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atri)i p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul)is).

86. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* IV 41

87. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 1958¹¹

88. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *AE* (1985) 643

89. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10315, 22379

90. *Imp. ac nob. Caes. princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4761

91. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4882/*IRR* 2/*ERR* 76; *IRG* III 9

92. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERPS* 137¹²

VIII. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group C

93. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 7002/*ILS* 607/*ILAlg* II 576

¹¹This stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

¹²*D(ominus) n(ostro) / Imp(eratori) [C]aes(ari) [M(arco)] / Aur(elio) [Carino P(io) F(elici) / Invic]to Aug(usto) / p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) <potest(ate)> p(atri) p(atriae) / co(n)s(uli) proc(onsuli) /—.*

IX. Carinus, Greek Titles, Group A

94. Καρίν.
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125 (3)

95. Καρίν. Καίσ.
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1975) 858/*SB* III 7028/*PdD* 37

96. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Καρίν. Καίσ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3169-73

97. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Καρίν. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3174-86

98. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος κυρ. ἡμῶν Καίσ. Μ. Αὐτ. Καρίν. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IX,2 1138/*Syll.*³ 896

X. Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

99. *divus Num.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 424, 426; *HCC* IV p. 225

100. *M. Aur. Num. Caes.*
Coins: *Lugdunensis* (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 354

101. *M. Aur. Num. Caes. princ. iuv.*
Coins: *Lugdunensis* (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 357
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 360, 362, 364, 365; *HCC* IV 2-4

102. *Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5889
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 371-2; *HCC* IV 12-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 379

103. *nob. Caes. Num. Num.*¹³

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERZ* 43/IRMN 12/Otal & Pros 1982, 191-2 no. 13

104. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4942

Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9151/XVII 576

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 353, 355, 358; *HCC* IV 5

Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 370

Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 377

105. *M. Aur. Num. Num. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERA* 63; *AE* (1974) 399

Italy -- *CIL* XI 827/ILS 603

106. *d. indulgentissimus M. Num. Num. nob. et piissimus Caes.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4909/EN 57¹⁴

107. *princ. iuv. M. Num. Num. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5672/ILS 604/König 1970, 259/*CIL* XVII 297

108. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2445/ILS 602

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 352, 356; *HCC* IV 6

Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 361, 363; *HCC* IV 1

Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 366-8; *HCC* IV 7-10

Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 369; *HCC* IV 11

109. *d. n. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1942-43) 76¹⁵

¹³Several of the inscriptions from the West (especially Hispania) appear to confuse *Aurelius* for *Numerius*; thus *Numerian*'s name becomes, *Marcus Numerius Numerianus*. I shall simply print *Num.* twice to indicate this.

¹⁴EN does not print *Numerio*. I have taken the reading in *CIL* as the better, and reproduce it here.

¹⁵D(omino) n(ostro) [M(arco) Aurelio] / Numferiano Aug(usto) --

110. *divus Num. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 425

111. *M. Num. Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4793

112. *M. Aur. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 445

112a. *piissimus ac clementissimus nob. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- Dupuis 1988, 104-5 no. 2

113. *Imp. Num. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 385, 389, 395, 397; *HCC* IV 35
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 401 ff.; *HCC* IV 18-25; *Gnechi* I p. 11, 1; III p. 77, 15 ff.

Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 452, 456
Rome/Siscia (?) -- *HCC* IV 26-7

114. *Imp. d. n. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10282

115. *Imp. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 419-20

116. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 387
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 404-5, 407, 415
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 442-3, 446-50; *HCC* IV 36-40
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 459
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 468

117. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 444

118. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1165/RIB 2250

119. *Imp. Caes. Num. nob. Caes.*Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1116/ix p. 639/*RIB* 2307120. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 373-6, 378; *HCC* IV 14-5
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 380; *HCC* IV 16121. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 381 ff.; *HCC* IV 29-34
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 411, 428, 433122. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 386, 393; *Gnechii* II p. 123, 7-8123. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 421124. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug. pacator orbis*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 390125. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 382; *Gnechii* II p. 122, 3 ff.; III p. 76, 13
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 402, 409, 414, 440; *HCC* IV 17
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 441
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 451 ff.
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 462-3; *HCC* IV 41-3
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 467
Rome/Siscia (?) -- *HCC* IV 28126. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 392, 398
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 464-6, 469; *HCC* IV 44
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 470127. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 417-8128. *Imp. Caes. Pi. Fel. Num. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* III 8/*ILER* 1892129. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21986
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4223, 10145
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 20538

XI. Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group B

130. *Pl. ac nob. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Imp. cos. procos. p. p.*Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 1959131. *Imp. d. n. M. Aur. Num. Num. nob. Caes. cos.*Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10283132. *Imp. Num. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 427132a. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechii* II p. 123, 11133. *Imp. M. Num. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4641133a. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechii* II p. 122, 1-2134. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. cos. tr. pot.*Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3580

135. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1523¹⁶

136. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 110/*ILS* 605

XII. Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

137. δοκυρ. τημῶν δοεπιφ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νούμ. Σεβ.
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 55

138. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νούμ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3190-9

139. Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νούμ. Καῖσ. Σεβ.
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3187-9

XIII. Carus and Carinus, Latin Titles, Group A

140. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. victor Car.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria ?) -- *RIC* V.2 210

141. *Car. Aug. M. Aur. Carin. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 145

¹⁶ [*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio] Num(eriana) P(lio) F(elici) / Invicto Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo)*
trib(unicia) [pot(estate)] --

142. *Car. et Carin. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1912) 200
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 135, 138-43; *HCC* IV p. 208

142a. *Imp. Car. et Carin. nob. Caes.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechii* II p. 121, 1

143. *Imp. Car. et Carin. Augg.*
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 146; *Gnechii* I p. 11, 1

144. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. Carin. nob. Caes.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 134

145. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. victor Carin. Aug.*
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria ?) -- *RIC* V.2 132

146. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Carin. nob. Caes.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 133, 144

147. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 136

148. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1939) 191

149. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. fil. eius ac nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1977) 789/French 1981, 155-6 no. 7/French 1986, 73

150. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1951) 111

Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22047¹⁷

Bithynia -- French 1986, 72 no. 1

151. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6956b

152. *Imp. Caes. d. n. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1962) 308

153. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. fil. eius et Aug. n. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1981, 156/French 1986, 74

154. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. fil. d. n. Car. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERZ* 44/IRMN 13/Otal & Pros 1982, 190-1 no. 12¹⁸

XIV. Carus and Carinus, Latin Titles, Group B

155. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22269¹⁹

156. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Aur.*

Carin. nob. Caes. Aug.

Inscriptions: Alpes -- *AE* (1985) 648

¹⁷[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio / [Caro Pi]o / [Felici] In/[victo] Aug(usto) / M(arco) Aurelio / Karino / nobilissimo C[aes(ari)] / et [--]. Obviously, Numerian was originally included on this stone, probably as *nobilissimus Caesar*.*

¹⁸The stone breaks after, *[K]ari Aug(usti) / --.*

¹⁹The inscription breaks after, *nobilissimo Caes(ari) / --.*

157. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Aur.*

Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.

Inscriptions: Alpes -- *RSS* 7/*WRJS* 316/*AE* (1985) 644/*CIL* XVII 116

158. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Aur.*

Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. pacatores orbis genium nationumque omnium

Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1923) 16/*ILT* 719

159. *Imp[er] Caess. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M.*

Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Germ.

Inscriptions: Italy -- *EE* viii 740

160. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr.*

pot.

Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 758²⁰

XV. Carus and Carinus, Greek Titles, Group A

161. *Kap. καὶ Καρι.*

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125

162. *M. Αὐρ. Καρι. δ επιφ. Καισ. παῖς τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Καρ.*

Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1900) 146/*IGRR* III 139/*SP* 67

163. *Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. θάγητος Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Καρι. επιφ. Καισ.*

Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 1305

²⁰The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

XVI. Carus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

164. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4452/*IRCL* 73

164a. *Imp. Carin. et Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechi* II p. 123, 1

XVII. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

164b. *Imp. Car. Aug. Carin. et Num. Caess.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnechi* II p. 123, 1

165. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Aur. Car. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nobb. Caess. perpetuus et Num. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *ILJug* II 1033/Šašel 1984, 248-52/*AE* (1985) 713²¹

166. *Imp. felicissimi dd. nn. Carin. et Num. divi Car.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4221/*ILS* 609

167. *Imp. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Carin. et Num. Caess. Fel.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 671/*CIL* VIII 22599

168. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *EE* iv 108

²¹⁶ Šašel (art. cit.) suggests that the second Numerianus mentioned here is not a stonecutter's error, but rather the child of one of Carus' sons.

169. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. Aug. nob. Caes. et Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10144

170. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin..et Num.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* I 17

171. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nobb. Caess.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1123/*CIL* VIII 10157 (= 22278)/*ILS* 601

172. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8013

173. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. ■ Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. Germ. max. et Imp. M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1967) 585

174. *divus Car. pater dd. nn. Imp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1931) 62/*ILT* 1197

XVIII. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group B

175. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. II et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. eius et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 603/*CIL* VIII 22104²²

²² As the *CIL* editors note, *p. p. II* is odd, and one thinks of an intended tribunician iteration.

176. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. Aug. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. et Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22431

177. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. et Imp. Caes. nob. Carin. fil. eius et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *Leschi* 1946/49, 593 no. 1

178. *dd. nn. invictissimi Aurr. Carin. et Num. Pi. Fell. Augg. pont. max. tr. pot. coss. divus Car.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4222²³

XIX. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group C

179. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. cos. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. II pont. max. cos. II procos. frater M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5332/*ILS* 606/*ILAlg* I 247

XX. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

180. *οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρ. καὶ Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- French 1981, 171-2 no. 15 iii

181. *οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρ. Πέρσ. καὶ Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ.*
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1903) 225/*IGRR* I 1144/*Bureth* p. 126/*PdD* 13

²³ {*Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) invic(tissimi)s A(fureli)s / Carino et Numeria(n)o Piis Felicibus / Augustis pontificibus max(imis) t(r)ibunic(i)s p(otestati)s co(n)s(ulibus) / diva Caro genit(or)e orfum.*

182. *Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Καρίν. επιφ. Καίσ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Νούμ. επιφ. Καίσ.*
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 14404b/*IGRR* IV 1489/*IK* 24,1 818(I)²⁴

183. *Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Καρίν. Γεράμ. μεγγ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Νούμ. οἱ επιφ. Καίσα. Ευσά. Ευττ. Σεββ.*
Papyri: *Bureth* pp. 125-6 (2)²⁵

184. *Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αυρ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ. οἱ επιφ. Σεββ.*
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* I 55a, 17 ff.

XXI. Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

185. *Carin. et Num. Augg.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 330-2; *HCC* IV p. 216

186. *dd. nn. Imp. Carin. et Num.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2529, 2530

187. *Imp. Carin. Aug. Num. Aug.*
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 333

188. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Augg.*
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22441

²⁴ {*Αγαθήνι τύχη / [Αὐτοκράτορι] Καίσαρι [...] / [...] καὶ / [Μ(έρκω) Αύρ(ηλι) Κ]αρείνω / [έπιφανε]στάτω Καίσερ(ι) καὶ / Μ(έρκω) Αύρ(ηλι) Νούμ[ερο]φ / [έπιφανεστ]άτω Καίσαρι]. I give here the text as it stands ap. Petzl, *IK* ad loc.*

²⁵ Note the comments of Sijpesteijn 1982, 110 no. 52 on this and the following formula.

189. *Impp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. Inv. Pii. Fell. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10156 (= 22280); Salama 1951/52, 231 no. 9

XXII. Carinus and Numerianus, latin Titles, Group B

190. *Impp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. et Num. Pii. Fell. Inv. Augg. Germm. max. Britt. max.*
Pers. max. tribb. pott. coss. pp. pp. procoss.
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 126/ILS 608; *CIL* XIV 127²⁶

XXIII. Carinus and Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

191. Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ.
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 1 (2)

192. Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ. Σεββ.
 Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2872, 2

193. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ. Σεββ.
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 2 (2)

194. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν ΜΜ. Αυρρ. Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ. Σεββ.
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 4 (2);²⁷ *P. Mich.* IX 553, 4-5

195. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρίν. καὶ Νούμ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 3 (1)

196. Αυτ. Καρίν. Μ. Αυρ. Καρίν. Γέρμ. μεγ. καὶ Μ. Αυρ. Νούμ. ὁ επιφ. Καρίν. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.
 Papyri: *P. Fuad I Univ.* 24, 19-20

²⁶The text of this stone is almost entirely restored on the basis of *CIL* XIV 126.

²⁷*P.S.A. Athen.* 24, 18 ff. has this formula. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 110.

M. Aurelius Sabinus Julianus
(ca. summer 283)

I. Titles

Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Iul. Pi. Fel. Aug.

Imp. Caes. Iul. Pi. Fel. Aug.

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 593-4

THE GALlic EMPIRE¹

Postumus

(late summer/fall 260 - ca. spring 269)

M(arcus) Cass(ianus) Lat(inus) Post(umus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Epit. de Caes. 32.3 His imperantibus Regallianus in Moesia, Cassius Latinus Postumus in Gallia Gallieni filio interfecto imperatores effecti sunt.

HA trig. tyr. 3.2 ff. sed, quantum plerique adserunt (quod eius non convenit moribus), postea fidem fregit et occiso Salonino sumpsit imperium. ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, cum qui commissum regebat imperium, imperatorem appellarent missisque militibus adulescentem interficerunt. quo interfecto ab omni exercitu et ab omnibus Gallis Postumus grataanter acceptus talem se praebuit per annos septem ut Gallias instauraverit.

¹There is a great problem with the mints of the various Gallic emperors. According to the most recent interpretation (Drinkwater 1987, 132-47), Postumus minted at Trier and Cologne, Laelian at Mainz, Marius at Trier, Cologne and Mainz, Victorinus at Tries and Cologne and Tetricus at these same two mints. Still, as Drinkwater stresses, these attributions are most tentative. Rather than to enter into this most complicated debate, I simply list the coins as they appear in the respective catalogues. In the main, this will not lead to terrible misunderstanding; or at least, it will not import new misunderstanding. However, it should be noted that the Lugdunum mint of Postumus, which is assumed in *RIC*, probably did not exist.

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Post. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 22 ff.
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 268 ff.; *HCC* IV 46

2. *Post. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 16, 19, 28, 32, 34, 36, 44, 101
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 259, 265, 267, 270, 276, 279, 281-2,
355, 361; *HCC* IV 6

3. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 46, 138, 155
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 260 ff.; *HCC* IV 44-5

4. *M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 196

5. *Imp. Post. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- Hassall & Tomlin 1986, 435 no. 7²
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 314
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 367, 369, 371-3, 375-6, 378-9, 386, 388; *HCC* IV
141-5

6. *Imp. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 168

7. *Imp. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 150

8. *Imp. d. n. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1161/*ILS* 560/*RIB* 2260/König 1981, 51³

9. *Imp. Caes. Post.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 203

10. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 160

11. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 209

12. *Imp. Caes. Post. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 366, 370, 385

13. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1938) 119/*RIB* 2255/König 1981, 50
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 127, 136, 146, 225

14. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 119

15. *Imp. Caes. M. Cas. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 158

16. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 17 ff.
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 254, 266, 278, 297 ff.; *HCC* IV 7-
38, 47-67, 70-98, 109-13, 140
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 368 ff.

17. *Imp. Caes. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 222

²*Imp(eratori) [...] / Postum/mo Aug(ustu) [...]*

³*CIL* does not print *Latinus*, although the other publications do. I have followed the majority.

18. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1965) 219/König 1981, 52
 Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8879/König 1981, 47/*CIL* XVII 331
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 116 ff.
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 39-40, 100-7, 117, 120-38

19. *Imp. Caes. d. n. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1924) 1/*RIB* 2232/König 1981, 49
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8955/König 1981, 43/*CIL* XVII 463;⁴ *CIL* XIII 8956/König 1981, 44/*CIL* XVII 464; *CIL* XIII 8957/König 1981, 45/*CIL* XVII 465⁵

20. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 25, 100

21. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 317; *HCC* IV 68-9

22. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 82, 159, 224

23. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 157, 223

24. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 324

⁴ {*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) d(ominico) n(ostro)*} / *M(arco) Cas(s)ia[nio La]tin(i)o Postumus* / *P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus)*.

⁵ {*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) d(ominico) n(ostro) M(arco) / C)assianus*} / *La[tin(i)o] Postumus* / *P(ius) F(elix)* Aug(ustus) --.

III. Latin Titles, Group B

25. *Post. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 633/*RGA* 2509/König 1981, 53

26. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 241

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8882/König 1981, 48/*CIL* XVII 333

28. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8972/König 1981, 46/*CIL* XVII 4966

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 186

30. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1, 95

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

31. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 199

32. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 119

⁶ {*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Cas(s)ianus / Latinus / Postumus / P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus)*} / {*p(ontifex) m(aximus) / trib(unicia) / pot(estate)* --}.

33. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 63

34. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 129, 198
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 118

35. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. I p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 53

36. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 108
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 108

37. *Imp. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 104

38. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2, 54, 104, 107, 109, 188, 242
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1-2, 139

39. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 106, 110-1, 187
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 99, 114-6

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9092/König 1981, 34/*CIL* XVII 6157

41. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9023/ILS 561/König 1981, 35/*CIL* XVII 491

⁷The restoration of this stone followed here is that of the original *CIL* editors and König. Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores, *Im[peratoris] Caes[ari] / Marco Cas[sian]io / Latinio Postumio [P(lio)] / F(elici) Invicto Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) / trib(unicia) [poi(estate) VIII] c(o)n(s)uii II[II] / p(atri) p(atriae) p(roco)n(s)uii). See also below 70.*

42. *Post. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.3

43. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.48, 52, 96

44. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.47, 55, 243
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV.3

45. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.112-3, 189

46. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1958) 58/*ILTG* 465/König 1981, 38/*CIL* XVII.353

47. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II.4943/*ILS* 562/König 1981, 37/*LPG* 76

48. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.8

49. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2.7, 9

50. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.4, 56

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. III*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II.4919/*ETERA* 42/König 1981, 368

⁸ Elorza (ETERA ad loc.) gives the reading *tr. pat. III*, which is closer to the original reading of the stone. Hübner, followed by König, restored the stone to match 47 above, i.e. without a tribunician iteration number.

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. cos. tr. pot. IV*
Inscriptions: Britain -- König 1981, 399

53. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 6

54. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 5
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- HCC IV 5

55. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 57
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- HCC IV 4

56. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 114, 190

57. *Post. Aug. victor Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 15, 97

58. *Post. Pi. Aug. victor Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 15

59. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 10-2

59a. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- CIL XII 5509/König 1970, 112/CIL XVII 150¹⁰

⁹König gives the following: --*Postu]mo Pio Fel[ici] Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) c(onsuli) v(ibunicia) po<o>/i(estate) IV.*

¹⁰{*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Cassianio / Latiniu Pos/umo Pio Fel[ici] / Inv[icto] Aug(usto) Ger/ manico maximo t[ri]b(unicia) pot(estate) VI co(n)s(ul) III / p(atri) p(atrias) proco(n)s(ul)I.*

60. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 13
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 255

61. *d. n. Post. cos. IV*
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 5736/König 1981, 58

62. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 257

63. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 256

64. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 285-7; HCC IV 42

65. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 290

66. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 364

67. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. IV*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- CIL XIII 8883/König 1981, 40/CIL XVII 334

68. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 292; HCC IV 41

69. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 291

70. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- König 1981, 41/CIL XVII 605¹¹

¹¹See also above 40.

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p.*
Inscriptions: Belgica -- AE (1969/70) 415/König 1981, 42/CIL XVII 538

72. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. V*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 288

73. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. V*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 365

74. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. imp. X cos. V*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 289; HCC IV 4312

75. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 258, 334

76. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 296

77. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 293-5

Laelianus
(ca. spring 269)

Ulp(ius) Cor(nelius) Lael(ianus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 33.8 *Namque primus omnium Postumus, qui forte barbaris per Galliam praesidebat, imperium erectum ierat; explosaque Germanorum multitudine Laeliani bello excipitur...*

Eutrop. 9.9.1-2 *qui (Postumus) seditione militum interfectus est, quod Mogontiacum, quae adversus eum rebellaverat Laeliano res novas moliente, diripiendam militibus tradere noluisse.*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Ulp. Cor. Lael.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- RIC V.2 p. 373
2. *Imp. Lael. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- RIC V.2 p. 373
3. *Imp. Caes. Lael. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- RIC V.2 p. 373; HCC IV p. 104

¹²Since this coin would be unique in giving an *imperator* iteration, and since we have coins (see below) with the combination *tr. pot. X cos. V*, this latter is most surely the proper reading of the reverse legend of this coin.

Marius
(ca. spring 269)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Mar(ius)

I. Literary Testimonia

Eutrop. 9.9.2 ...*Marius vilissimus opifex purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est.*

Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.22.11 *post mortem Postumi Marius ibidem invasit imperium sed continuo interfectus est.*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Mar. Aug.*

Coins: Germania Sup. (Trier) -- RIC V.2 p. 378; HCC IV p. 106

2. *Imp. Caes. Mar. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 p. 377; HCC IV p. 105

3. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Mar. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- RIC V.2 p. 377

Victorinus
(ca. late spring 269 - early 271)

M(arcus) Pia(vonius) Vict(orinus)

I. Literary Testimonia

HA trig. tyr. 6.1 *Postumus senior cum videret multis se Gallieni viribus peti atque au<xi>lium non solum milittum verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victorinum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem contra Gallienum confixit.*

II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Vict. Pl.*

Coins: Germania (?) -- RIC V.2 83, 85-9
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- HCC IV p. 111

2.  *Vict. Aug.*

Coins: Germania (?) -- RIC V.2 28, 70

3. *Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Germania (?) -- RIC V.2 69

4. *Imp. Vict. Aug.*

Coins: Germania (?) -- RIC V.2 4, 35, 68

5. *Imp. Pia. Vict. Aug.*

Coins: Germania (?) -- RIC V.2 66

6. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 30
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 102
7. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 3 ff.
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 18-20
8. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 9
9. *Imp. Caes. Vict.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 126
10. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 43
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 101, 111, 120, 124
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 24
11. *Imp. Caes. Pia. Vict. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 41, 62, 126
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 105
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1160/*RIB* 2251/König 1981, 90
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8999/König 1981, 85/*CIL* XVII 387
13. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 56
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 119, 125
14. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Aug. defensor orbis*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 90
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 25

15. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 1 ff.
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 94, 96-100, 110, 114-5, 118, 122-3;
HCC IV 5-17
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 21-3, 26-30
16. *Imp. Caes. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9006/*König* 1981, 86/*CIL* XVII 392
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 65
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 106-7, 109, 113, 117; *HCC* IV 2-4
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1254/*RIB* 2287/König 1981, 92; *AE* (1937) 108/*RIB* 2296/König 1981, 93
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 95, 104, 108, 112, 116
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix p. 635/*CIL* VII 1162/König 1981, 91
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8958/*ILS* 564/König 1981, 80/*CIL* XVII 473;
CIL XIII 8959/König 1981, 81/*CIL* XVII 474; *CIL* XIII 8960/König 1981, 82/*CIL* XVII 466; *CIL* XIII 8961/König 1981, 83/*CIL* XVII 467; *CIL* XIII 8975/König 1981, 84/*CIL* XVII 461

III. Latin Titles, Group B

19. *Vict. Aug. cos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 11976/*RGAJ* 286/König 1981, 77

20. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2238/König 1981, 881
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9012/König 1981, 87/*CIL* XVII 423

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *AE* (1971) 279/König 1981, 78/*CIL* XVII 604

22. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1097/*ILS* 565/*RIB* 2241/König 1981, 89

23. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 12090/*RGAI* 285/König 1981, 76/*CIL* XVII 551 & 551a

24. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 9040/König 1981, 79/*CIL* XVII 509

IV. Latin Titles, Group C

25. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 1

26. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 36

27. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 37

28. *Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 34

¹The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

29. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 38

30. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 39

Tetricus
(early 271 - ca. spring 274)

G(aius) Pi(us) Esuv(ius) Tet(ricus)

I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. Caes. 33.14-5 Interim Victoria amissos Victorino filio, legionibus grandi pecunia comprobantibus Tetricum imperatorem facit, qui familia nobilli praesidatu Aquitanos tuebatur, filioque eius Tetrico Caesarea insignia impartiuntur.

Epit. de Caes. 35.7 Hic Tetricum, qui imperator ab exercitu in Galliis effectus fuerat...

Eutrop. 9.10 Huic successiū Tetricus senator, qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans absens a militibus imperator electus est et apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit.

HA trig. tyr. 24.1 Interfecto Victorino et eius filio mater eius Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum senatorem p. R praesidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium hortata, quod eius erat, ut plerique loquuntur, ad finis, Augustu <m> appellari fecit filiumque eius caesarem nuncupavit.

idem 25.1 Hic puerulus ■ Victoria Caesar est appellatus, cum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset.

II. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Tet.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 78
2. *Imp. Tet. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 12 ff.

3. *Imp. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 16-23
4. *Imp. Caes. Tet.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 149
5. *Imp. Caes. P. Esuv. Tet. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 61, 72
6. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Aug.*
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 37, 42, 104
7. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 2-9, 11-5
8. *Imp. Caes. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1249/*CIL* VII 1150/*RIB* 2224/König 1981, 104
9. *Imp. Caes. G. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1150/*RIB* 2226/König 1981, 106
10. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1250/*CIL* VII 1151/*RIB* 2225/König 1981, 105
11. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8925/*ILTG* 471/König 1981, 102/*CIL* XVII 365
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8962/König 1981, 103/*CIL* XVII 468

III. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group B

12. *Imp. Caes. G. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 9041/König 1981, 97/*CIL* XVII 526

13. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8927/*ILS* 566/König 1981, 100/*CIL* XVII 432
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8963/König 1981, 99/*CIL* XVII 469; *CIL* XIII
 8964/König 1981, 98/*CIL* XVII 470

IV. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group C

14. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1

15. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1960) 175/König 1970, 264/König 1981, 101/*CIL*
 XVII 302¹

16. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. cos. III*
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 45

V. Tetricus II, Latin Titles, Group A

17. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Caes.*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1-9
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 10-8

18. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Britain -- König 1981, 113
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8970/König 1981, 111/*CIL* XVII 424; *CIL*
 XIII 9000/König 1981, 110/*CIL* XVII 388

¹The tribunicia iteration is restored here.

19. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. junior nob. Caes.*
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- König 1981, 112

20. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 10²

VI. Tetricus II, Latin Titles, Group II

21. *G. Pi. Tet. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. cos.*
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1888) 144/*ILG* 656/König 1970, 261/König 1981,
 114/*CIL* XVII 299

VII. Tetricus I & II, Latin Titles, Group A

22. *d. n. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8977/König 1981, 109/*CIL* XVII 450

VIII. Tetricus I & II, Latin Titles, Group C

23. *d. n. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*
tr. pot. II cos.
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1890) 154/*ILS* 567/*ILG* 655/König 1970,
 249/König 1981, 108/*CIL* XVII 287

²This coin is somewhat puzzling. It is listed in *HCC* under Tetricus I, and the obverse clearly belongs to the father. However, the reverse, with *princeps iuventutis*, should refer to the son. The coin is apparently a hybrid.

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